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Power, identity and antiquarian approaches in modern Chinese art

Chia-Ling Yang

Within China, nationalistic sentiments notably inhibit objective analysis of Sino-Japanese and Sino-Western cultural exchanges during the end of the Qing dynasty and throughout the Republican period: the fact that China was occupied by external and internal powers, including foreign countries and Chinese warlords, ensured that China at this time was not governed or united by one political body. The contemporary concept of 'China' as 'one nation' has been subject to debate, and as such, it is also difficult to define what the term 'Chinese painting' means.¹ The term, *guohua* 國畫 or *maobihua* 毛筆畫 (brush painting) has traditionally been translated as 'Chinese national painting'.² While investigating the formation of the concept of *guohua*, one might question what *guo* 國 actually means in the context of *guohua*. It could refer to 'Nationalist painting' as in the Nationalist Party, Guomindang 國民黨, which was in power in early 20th century China. It could also be translated as 'Republican painting', named after *minguo* 民國 (Republic of China). These political sentiments had a direct impact on *guoxue* 國學 (National Learning) and *guocui* 國粹 (National Essence), textual evidence and antiquarian studies on the development of Chinese history and art history.

With great concern over the direction that modern Chinese painting should take, many prolific artists and intellectuals sought inspiration from *jinshixue* 金石學 (metal and stone studies/epigraphy) as a way to revitalise the Chinese painting and literati tradition in modern China. Putting art into such a political context, this study – taking Shanghai, the cultural centre with strong Western presence, and nearby cities in Lower Yangzi River as examples – aims to investigate the phenomenon of art societies that were formed around *jinshi* study in early Republican Shanghai, and their contributions to expanding the definition of *yishu* 藝術 (art) from one that predominantly referred to painting and calligraphy in the context of elegant

*The author wishes to thank the editors and the peer-reviewer's valuable comments. This paper is dedicated to Professor Roderick Whitfield on his 77th birthday.

¹ Studies on *guohua* and debates of Chinese national painting, see Aida Yuen Wong, *Parting the Mist: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-Style Painting in Modern China*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006; Lawrence Schneider, 'National Essence and the New Intelligentsia' and Martin Bernal, 'Liu Shi-P'ei and National Essence,' in Charlotte Furth ed., *The Limits of Change: Essays on Conservative Alternatives in Republican China*, Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1976, 57-89 and 90-112; Julia Andrews, 'Traditional Painting in New China: *Guohua* and the Anti-Rightist Campaign,' *Journal of Asian Studies* 49, no. 3, August 1990, 555-559; Pedith Chan, 'The Institutionalization and Legitimatization of *Guohua*: Art Societies in Republican Shanghai', *Modern China*, Vol. 39, Issue 5, September 2013, 541-570.

² Yin Shaochun 尹少淳, *Meishu yu jiaoyu* 美術及其教育 (Fine Arts and Its Education), Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 1995, 41.

gatherings to the incorporation of other kinds of collectibles including steles and bronzes.

In answering 'what is *guohua*?' this study first discusses *jinshi* scholarship and its relation to scholar painting and art activities at the turn of the 20th century. By examining versatile trends within 'archaic painting' and 'epigraphic painting' in Shanghai, I then investigate how *jinshixue* was applied to painting and associated with ethnic identity. This study further probes the extent to which historical relics, evidential study and metal and stone studies have been used to represent the ethnic identity or indigenous art of the Chinese. Could the *jinshi* painters in early 20th century Shanghai be grouped and viewed as the same cultural entity, and whether such difference in their cultural identity affected artistic production, and their concept of *guohua*?

The prolific artist and theorist Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 (1865-1955) claimed that *jinshixue* 金石學 (the study of metal and stone) was the cure to revive modern painting.³ The character, *jin* 金, mainly refers to bronze and metal objects, weapons, measurement, coins, mirrors and metal amulet; and *shi* 石, largely suggests epigraphy, steles, carved images, sculpture, stone pillars inscribed with Buddhist scriptures, and inscribed stone-watchtowers.⁴ The word, *jinshi*, first appeared in Mozi 墨子 (480?-400? BCE), 'The ancient sages and kings who wished to pass on their *dao* to their descendants would write on bamboo [strips] and silk, engraved [inscriptions] on metal and stone, and carved [inscriptions] on dishes and jars in order to pass on [their *dao*] to descendants, so that their descendants should take it [their *dao*] as a model'.⁵ The function of *jinshi* inscriptions was to record history or important events. Because of its important relationship to history and the origin of the script system, the study of *jinshi* later became a subject area – *jinshixue*. On the starting date for *jinshixue*, Zhu Jianxin 朱劍心 (1905-1967) noted that intellectuals of the Han dynasty (202 BC- 220) were already paying attention to historical accounts found on steles and incorporating them into their study of early history, rituals, rites and the Classics. Therefore, the starting point of *jinshixue* should be from the Han dynasty. Other prolific scholars of the early twentieth-century, for example Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877-1927) and Ma Heng 馬衡 (1881-1955) only considered *jinshixue* a subject of learning after Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104-1162) included *jinshixue* as a specific discipline along with another nineteen areas of scholarship in his *Tongzhi* 通志 (Comprehensive Treatises). However, it is well-agreed that the study of *jinshi* was already flourishing by the Northern Song (960-1127):⁶ the numerous

³ Huang Binhong 黃賓虹, 'Zhenshe jianzhang 貞社簡章' (Handbook of the Society of the Virtuous), *Shenzhou ribao* 神州日報, 28 April 1912.

⁴ Zhu Jianxin 朱劍心, *Jinshixue* 金石學 (Study on Metal and Stone), Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1930; 1955, 2-3.

⁵ '古之聖王，欲傳其道於後世，是故書於竹帛，鏤於金石，琢於盤盂，傳遺後世子孫，欲後世子孫法也。' Mo Di 墨翟, 'Jianai xia 兼愛下' (Universal Love II), in *Mozi* 墨子, *juan* 4; reprinted in Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1965, 36.

⁶ See Wang Guowei 王國維, 'Songdai zhi jinshixue 宋代之金石學' (Metal and Stone Study in Song Dynasty), *Jing'an wenji* 靜庵文集 (Collected Essays of Jing'an-Wang Guowei) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1905; reprinted in Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997, 208-213; Zhu Jianxin, *Jinshixue*, 4; Ma Heng 馬衡, *Fanjiangzhai jinshi conggao* 凡將齋金石叢稿 (Drafts on Metal and Stone Studies of Fanjiang Studio), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965, 2; and Ma Wujie 馬無咎 (Ma Heng), *Zhongguo jinshixue gaoyao* 中國金石學概要 (Outline of

publications on the topic, namely Liu Chang's 劉敞 (1019-1068) *Xian Qin guqiji* 先秦古器記 (Notes on Antiquities from the Pre-Qin Periods, 1063), Ouyang Xiu's 歐陽修 (1007-1072) *Jigu lu* 集古錄 (Records on Collected Antiquities, 1063), Zeng Gong's 曾鞏 (1019-1083) *Yuanfeng leigao – Jinshilu* 元豐類稿金石錄 ('Record on Metal and Stone Objects' in *Thematic Essays from the Yuanfeng Era* [1078-1085]), Lü Dalin's 呂大臨 (1044-1091) *Kaogu tu* 考古圖 (Illustrated Investigation of Antiquities, 1092), Zhao Mingcheng's 趙明誠 (1081-1129) *Jinshi lu* 金石錄 (Record of Metal and Stone Objects), Wang Fu's 王黼 (1079-1126) *Xuanhe bogutu* 宣和博古圖 (Catalogue of Antiquarian Studies in the *Xuanhe* era [1107-1125]), Xue Shanggong's 薛尚功 *Lidai zhongding yiqi kuanshi fatie* 歷代鐘鼎彝器款識法帖 (Model Inscriptions from Ritual Bronzes from Successive Dynasties, 1144) and 'Jinshi lue' in *Tongzhi* 通志.金石略 ('Brief Account on Metal and Stone Objects' in *Comprehensive Treatises*, 1157) by Zheng Qiao represent the fervent interest in such learning among Song scholars.⁷ Since detailed physical appearance, inscribed text, measurements, and decorative designs are discussed carefully in their writings, *jinshixue* is often translated as 'antiquarian study' or 'antiquarianism'. Through assembling and collecting objects, publishing, recording and reproducing their inscriptions, and through *kaozheng* 考證 (evidential research) on inscribed materials, Song scholars were able to establish a unique study of antiquity.

Antiquarian writing also had a profound impact on the study of history and the Classics; the cataloguing of antiquities provided the inspiration for literary works, artistic production and historical writing. The government and intellectuals promoted the pursuit of antiquity to reconstruct a cultural identity and social orthodoxy during the transitional period between Northern and Southern Song (1127-1279).⁸ However, such interests in studying ancient artifacts and ancient inscriptions gradually dwindled after the Southern Song. It was not until the 17th century that ancient learning and textual evidential research was revitalised with the aim of recovering verifications through the ancient inscriptions and the Classics, and was again undertaken enthusiastically by scholars and officials.

As Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-1682) wrote in *Jinshi wenzi jixu* 金石文字記序 (Preface for *Notes on epigraphic inscriptions*), his study on *jinshi* mainly concerned the materials located in Shandong 山東 and Shanxi 陝西 in the north of China:

Metal and Stone Study in China), lecture notes for Beijing University during 1910-20s; reprinted in Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1967, 3.

⁷ Wang Guowei, 'Songdai zhi jinshixue,' 208-212; Yun-Chiahn C. Sena, 'Cataloguing Antiquity: A Comparative Study of the Kaogu tu and Bogu tu,' in Wu Hung ed., *Reinventing the Past-Archaism and Antiquarian in Chinese Art and Visual Culture*, Chicago: Art Media Resources, 2010, 200-228.

⁸ Zhu Jianxin, *Jinshixue*, pp. 4-12; Chen Fang-mei 陳芳妹, 'Jinxue, shike yu fatie chuantong de jiaohui-'Lidai zhongding yiqi kuanshi fatie' Song ta shiben canye de wenhuashi yiyi 金學、石刻與法帖傳統的交會-《歷代鐘鼎彝器款識法帖》宋拓石本殘葉的文化史意義' (Relating the Studies of metal, stone and model calligraphy: a cultural history of the Song Dynasty *Model Inscriptions from Ritual Bronzes in History*), *Taida Journal of Art History*, no. 24, 2008, 67-146; Hsu Ya-hwei, 'Nan Song jinshi shoucang yu zhongxing qingjie 南宋金石收藏與中興情結' (Antiquarian Trends in the Dynastic Revival of the Southern Song), *Taida Journal of Art History*, no. 31, 2011, 1-60; Cheng-Hua Wang, 'Luo Zhenyu and the Formation of *Qiwu* and *Qiwuxue* in the First Decade of the Republican Era,' in Chia-Ling Yang and Roderick Whitfield eds., *Lost Generation: Luo Zhenyu, Qing Loyalists and the Formation of Modern Chinese Culture*, London: Saffron, 2012, 32-57.

Since I was young, I began to search for the ancient inscriptions on metal and stone objects. But I could not understand well until I read *Jigulu* by Master Ouyang [Xiu]. I began to realise that these inscriptions are not merely beautiful in their language, but can provide evidence for historical records, unveil the nature of the world and one's inner emotion, fill gaps and correct our knowledge [of history and literature]. In twenty years of travelling the world, wherever I visit, from famous mountains, large towns, shrines, and Buddhist temples, I would climb up perilous mountain peaks, investigate deep valleys, touch the fallen rocks, walk in deserted woods, strike crumbling walls and dilapidated houses, and scoop up the earth with a dustpan [to reach buried steles]. For those still readable, I would hand-copy them myself. Whenever I found something that others had not seen before, I was too excited to sleep.⁹

Walking out of his studio, Gu's empirical approach to site visits and object study renewed the horizon of subsequent evidential research: that is, to acquire knowledge in history through actual relics and visible remains in ruins, fields or temples. Thus stone steles with carved inscriptions were viewed as intellectual relics serving an erudite function. Gu's influential publications and *Jinshi yaoli* 金石要例 (Essential Examples of Metal and Stone Inscriptions) by Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695) set out fine examples of applying steles from the Northern region to their research in history and literature. As a result, the status of steles was elevated among scholars and collectors in the late imperial age.¹⁰

Considering why Gu Yanwu and many late Ming subjects were so keen on the study of antiquity and textual evidence, Bai Qianshen has suggested that the visits to steles and ancient sites reflects the Ming sentiment of *yimin* 遺民, a term that refers to the people of a conquered nation: the 'left-over' relics of the Ming Dynasty.¹¹ For these people, the steles were cultural relics representing the splendour of the past. Therefore, reading an inscription from a stele became a ritual to commemorate the bygone days and to assuage their dissatisfaction with being a conquered people. Starting from the 18th century, one often associates the search for

⁹餘自少時，即好訪求古人金石之文，而猶不甚解。及讀歐陽公《集古錄》，乃知其事多與史書相證明，可以闡幽表微，補闕正誤，不但辭翰之工而已。比二十年間，周遊天下，所至名山、巨鎮、祠廟、伽藍之跡，無不尋求。登危峰，探窈壑，捫落石。履荒榛，伐頽垣，畚朽壤，其可讀者，必手自抄錄，得一文為前人所未見者，輒喜而不寐。’

Gu Yanwu, *Jinshi wenzi jixu* 金石文字記序 (Preface for *Notes on epigraphic scripts*); reprinted in *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Photocopy version of *Complete Library of Four Branches of Treasuries*-Wenyuange Edition), Taipei: Shangwu shuju, 1983, vol. 683, 703.

¹⁰ Discussion on Gu and Huang's scholarly activity and life, see Willard J. Peterson, 'The Life of Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682),' *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, no. 28, 1968, 114-156 and no. 29, 1969, 201-247; Zhou Kezhen 周可貞, *Gu Yanwu nianpu* 顧炎武年譜 (Chronological Biography of Gu Yanwu), Suzhou daxue chubanshe, 1998; Xie Guozhen 謝國楨, *Huang Lizhou nianpu* 黃梨洲年譜 (Chronological Biography of Huang Lizhou [Zongxi]), Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1972.

¹¹ Bai Qianshen 白謙慎, *Fu Shan de shijie* 傅山的世界 (Fu Shan's World), Taipei: Shitou chubanshe, 2005, 226-231.

China's classical past or cultural nostalgia with the Manchu's fulfilment of their political agenda through their rule over the Han Chinese intellectuals. Scholars also often propose that the period from late Ming to late Qing and the early Republican period should be viewed as a single cultural entity, as intellectuals and left-over subjects shared a similar cultural identity during the dynastic transitions; and there is a special connection in the case of late Qing scholars who often showed a particular affinity to late Ming scholars in their writings.¹²

However, when we review the collecting activities and artistic trends of the learned societies in the late Qing and early Republican era, we have to ask if the Qing left-over relics had the same motivation when collecting antiquity and whether they shared a similar attitude toward antiquarian activities as the Ming loyalists? Can the artists' pursuit of antiquity at the turn of 20th century represent aspects of their political stance? What was their view on the 'past' and 'antiquity', and how did this influence the re-positioning of themselves in the dynastic transition to the modern era? This study firstly investigates how *jinshi* objects and ideas were represented. In discussing the dealing of antiquities among intellectuals, it leads to an examination on whether an art society served as a museum space or an art market in which the functions of the elegant scholarly gathering have changed. It also addresses the issue of the political use of *jinshi* in collecting and publication for replicating and authenticating history in modern China.

Changing functions of the elegant scholarly gathering

In recent scholarship, Shanghai is viewed as the pivotal site of China's emergent technological and intellectual modernity and as a metropolitan city of cultural pluralism and social change. Artistic production in Shanghai and nearby cities in the lower Yangzi River have thus not only become a source of information on artists' education and class, but also on the artists' 'situations'. This reinforced the popular appeal of art in the late 19th- and early 20th- centuries and defined modernity in Chinese painting and its versatile trends. The growth of fan shops and art associations marked the vigorous artistic activities and high density of artists in Shanghai in the late Qing. The flourishing economy, circulation of newspapers and open art market in the modern city further attracted professional artists and consumers. Friendships, cultural ties and commercial interests were obviously intertwined within the gatherings in these places. After the first Opium War (1839-42) and the Taiping rebellion (1850-64), artists and intellectuals were particularly drawn to Shanghai, as described by Wang Tao 王韜, 'while Jiangsu, Zhejiang and the southeast part of China are chaotic, Shanghai is richer than ever before. Numerous famous intellectuals guest-stay here to avoid intimidation; they discuss poetry over wine and more or less forget about the ravages of war'.¹³ Compared with other cities in late Qing China, the number of immigrant-artists and art societies in Shanghai outnumbered those in Suzhou, Hangzhou and Beijing after

¹² Der-Wei Wang and Wei Shang eds., *Dynastic Crisis and Cultural Innovation. From the Late Ming to the Late Qing and Beyond*, Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2005, 3-9.

¹³ '江浙東南半壁無一片乾淨土，而滬上繁華遠逾昔日。諸名士避地至此來做寓公，賭酒論詩，幾忘兵燹。' Wang Tao 王韜, *Yingruan zazhi 瀛壖雜誌* (Miscellany on Shanghai), Shanghai, 1875, *juan* 6; reprinted in Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1969, 165.

1842.¹⁴ At the turn of the 20th century, as Beijing encountered growing domestic problems of administrative control, political upheavals and social order, people who earned their living by means of calligraphy and painting sooner or later came to Shanghai, selling their work and residing in the city.

However, Roderick Whitfield also commented that Shanghai School painting 'reveals a lively artistic scene in late nineteenth-century Shanghai that is quite at odds with the conventional idea of a culture in decline at the end of the Qing dynasty'.¹⁵ It suggests issues that need to be carefully discussed: While Shanghai offered a more favorable milieu for artistic gatherings and an art market, what was the relationship between the changes in society and artistic directions? Does the development of art societies reflect certain fashions and thoughts of the time?

It is worth noting that around and after 1911, the founding of art societies increased rapidly in Shanghai; and among all, ten out of twenty-one traditional art groups founded between 1900s-1930s specifically aimed to promote 'jinshi shuhua 金石書畫' (epigraphy, calligraphy and painting), including

1. Shanghai xiling yinshe 上海西泠印社 (Shanghai Xiling Society of Seals, 1904-), mixed membership and political views.
2. Haishang tijinguan jinshi shuhuahui 海上題襟館金石書畫會 (Shanghai Tijinguan Epigraphy, Calligraphy, and Painting Society, 1911-1926), mixed membership and political views.
3. Zhenshe 貞社 (Society of the Virtuous, 1912-1942), mainly Republican supporters.
4. Guangcang xuejiong 廣倉學窘 (Society of Cang Jie Study, 1916-c.1941), mainly Qing loyalist members.
5. Jinshi huabao she 金石畫報社 (Society of the Metal and Stone Illustrated Journal, 1925-?)
6. Shanghai xunshe 上海巽社 (Society of Conformism [Traditional Values] in Shanghai, 1925-c.1927), mixed membership and political views.
7. Zhongguo jinshi shuhua yiguan xuehui 中國金石書畫藝觀學會 (Society of Chinese Metal and Stone, Calligraphy, Painting and Art-Views, 1926-1929); it was renamed Zhongguo yishu xuehui 中國藝術學會 [Society of Chinese Art] in 1929, mainly with Republican supporters.
8. Guhua jinyu she 古歡今雨社 (Society of Old Acquaintances and New Friends, 1926-1930), mixed membership and political views.
9. Hanzhiyou 寒之友 (Wintry Friends, 1928-c. 1937), mixed membership and political views.
10. Xuanhe yinshe 宣和印社 (Society of Xuanhe Seal Studies, 1935-1951), mixed membership and political views.¹⁶

¹⁴ Huang Ke 黃可, 'Qingmo Shanghai jinshi shuhua jia de jieshe huodong 清末上海金石書畫家結社活動', *Duoyun* 朵雲, no. 12, 1987, 141-147; Xu Changming 徐昌酩 ed., *Shanghai meishuzhi* 上海美術志 (Record of Arts in Shanghai), Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2004, 18-19; Chia-Ling Yang, *New Bottles and Old Wine- Art of Ren Bonian in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai*, London: Saffron, 2007, 41-57.

¹⁵ Roderick Whitfield, Preface for *Chinese Paintings from Shanghai Museum 1851~1911*, exhibition catalogue, Edinburgh, 2000, 1.

¹⁶ Xu Changming ed., *Shanghai meishuzhi*, 14, 18-19, 263-279.

Apart from organizing commercial activities through art societies, which was one of the characteristics of art associations in nineteenth century Shanghai, some art societies established after the downfall of the Qing began to admit members of similar political stance. Therefore, the elegant gathering was turned into a collective political activity, and their work and publications were produced to realize political claims, or to represent certain views on current affairs and form groups with different political identities.

The Shanghai Tijinguan Epigraphy, Calligraphy, and Painting Society (abbr. Tijinguan), the Society of the Virtuous and the Society of Cang Jie Study for example, were three societies established during the time of dynastic transition and political turmoil between 1911 and 1916. With a mixed group of members from different backgrounds, Tijinguan represented the typical characteristics of a commercially-oriented society; as for the latter two, the Society of the Virtuous was established by members who supported the Republicans, and the Society of Cang Jie Study attracted more scholars and artists who remained faithful to the late Qing and who would rather work for foreigners than for organization or schools funded by the Republican government in the 1910s. Although all three societies aimed to promote *jinshi*, their varied political orientation and motivation resulted in a different culture and ambience within each society. The function of the elegant scholarly gathering had been remodelled into an innovative type of art business.

A. Haishang tijinguan jinshi shuhuahui 海上題襟館金石書畫會 (Shanghai Tijinguan Epigraphy, Calligraphy and Painting Society, 1911-1926)

Established around 1911 in Shanghai, Shanghai Tijinguan Epigraphy, Calligraphy and Painting Society was one of the most active art societies in south China at the turn of the new century. It was located in Shangyu Yaji Tea House in Little Garden District 小花園商餘雅集 (today Jiujiang Road 九江路), and was formerly known as Zhongguo shuhua yuanjiuhui 中國書畫研究會 (Society of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting Study), Shanghai shuhua yanjiuhui 上海書畫研究會 (Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Society) or as Xiaohuayuan shuhua yanjiuhui 小花園書畫研究會 (Little Garden Calligraphy and Painting Society). Firstly established in 1910 by Wang Xun 汪洵 (known as Yuanruo 淵若, 1846-1915) and Li Pingshu 李平書 (known as Zhongjue 鍾珪, 1853-1927), it was reconstructed and renamed as Shanghai Tijinguan Epigraphy, Calligraphy and Painting Society in 1911. The first president and vice-president of the Tijinguan were Wang Xun 汪洵 and Ha Lin 哈麟 (known as Shaofu 少甫, 1856-1934); after Wang's death in 1915 Wu Changshi 吳昌碩 (1844-1927) became president, and Wang Zhen 王震 (known as Yiting 一亭, 1867-1938) was invited to be joint vice-president with Ha Lin.¹⁷ The society moved place several times. For a short period in 1924 it was relocated in Ningbo Road 寧波路 sharing the space with Shanghai xiling yinshe 上海西泠印社 (Xiling Seal Society, Shanghai branch), and finally moved near Fuzhou Road 福州路 and Zhejiang Road 浙江路 before the society was disbanded in 1926 owing to financial difficulties.

The society attracted more than 100 members, male and female, of different political stances and various backgrounds from all over China. The majority of

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

members followed the Shanghai School tradition and lived and had worked in the city before 1911 as professional artists, collectors or art dealers. Many members attended more than one society, for instance the Wenming yaji shuhua hui 文明雅集書畫會 (Civilised Elegant Gathering for Calligraphers and Painters, 1908-1911) and the Yuyuan shuhua shanhui 豫園書畫善會 (Yu Garden Charitable Association for Calligraphers and Painters, 1909-c. 1940s): among the key professional artist-members of these societies are Wang Xun, Wu Changshi, Ha Lin, Li Pingshu, Wang Zhen and Chen Nian 陳年 (known as Banding 半丁, 1876-1970)¹⁸.

Among the members, several individuals were famed for their multiple-roles as artists, dealers, publishers, educators, compradors or entrepreneurs. Shen Heqing 沈和卿 (act. 1880-1900s) was a woman artist and the founder of *Nüxue bao* 女學報 (Women's News, 24 July- 29 October 1898, 12 issues), the first newspaper edited and published by an all-female staff in China, co-edited by Shen Heqing, Kang Tongwei 康同薇 (1879-1974), daughter of eminent scholar Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927), and Li Huixian 李蕙仙 (1869-1964), wife of philosopher Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929)¹⁹. As a publisher, political reformer and artist, Di Baoxian 狄葆賢 (1872-1941) was the founder of one of the most successful newspapers in Shanghai, *Shibao* 時報 (*The Eastern Times*, 1904-1939) and of *Funü shibao* 婦女時報 (*The Women's Eastern Times*, June 1911-May 1917). In addition to his paper for political campaigning, he was also the funder of Youzheng shuju 有正書局 (Youzheng Book Company, 1904-1943) which produced fine art books including art catalogues and reproduction volumes of painting and calligraphy.²⁰ Wang Zhen, the most famed student of Wu Changshi, was a successful businessman and a known comprador working for Nisshin Kisen Kabushiki Kaisha 日清汽船株式會社 (Japanese-Qing Ferry Co. Ltd) since 1907. He was an intermediary between China and Japan and helped to

¹⁸ Other members include Ding Baoshu 丁寶書 (known as Yunxuan 芸軒, 1866-1936), Ding Ren 丁仁 (known as Fuzhi 輔之, 1879-1949), Fei Yan 費硯 (known as Longding 龍丁, 1879-1937), Feng Jiong 馮迥 (Chaoran 超然, 1882-1954), Gao Shifeng 高時豐 (known as Yutai 魚臺, 1876-1960), Gao Shixian 高時顯 (known as Yehou 野侯, 1878-1952), He Tianjian 賀天健 (known as Bingnan 炳南, 1891-1977), Huang Shanshou 黃山壽 (known as Xuchu 旭初, 1855-1919), Ni Tian 倪田, Qian Shoutie 錢瘦鐵 (known as Shuyai 叔崖, 1897-1967), Tang Xiong 唐熊 (known as Jisheng 吉生, 1892-after 1926), Tong Danian 童大年 (known as Xinkan 心龕, 1873-1954), Wu Zheng 吳徵 (known as Daiqiu 待秋, 1878-1949), Wu Dongmai 吳東邁 (Son of Wu Changshi, 1885-1963), Wu Yin 吳隱 (known as Shiqian 石潛, 1867-1922), Wang Chuantao 王傳燾 (Son of Wang Zhen), Wang Geyi 王个移 (known as Qizhi 啟之, 1897-1988), Wu Fufan 吳湖帆 (known as Qian 倩, 1894-1968), Yao Jingying 姚景瀛 (known as Yuqin 虞琴, 1867/75-1961), Yu Deqi 余德記, Ye Zhenjia 葉振家 (known as Zhifa 指發, ?-1926), Yi Ru 易孺 (Da'an 大庵, 1872-1941), Yu Yuan 俞原 (known as Yushuang 語霜, 1874-1922), Zhao Yunhuo 趙雲壑 (known as Ziyun 子雲, 1874-1955), Zhao Yunfang 趙雲舫 and Zhu Zongyuan 諸宗元 (known as Zhenzhuang 貞壯, 1874-1932), Shen Heqing 沈和卿 (act. 1880-1900s) and Di Baoxian 狄葆賢 (known as Chuqing 楚青, Pingzi 平子, 1872-1941).

¹⁹ Li Kanghua 李康化, *Manhua lao Shanghai zhishi jieceng* 漫話老上海知識階層 (Casual Writing on Intellectuals in Shanghai), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe 上海人民出版社, 2003; *Nuxue bao* 女學報, no. 1, 24 July 1898, Nanjing Library; Pang Guang 龐廣, 'Zhongguo diyi nubaoren-Kang Tongwei 中國第一女報人—康同薇' (The First Female Journal Editor in China-Kang Tongwei), *Guangdong shizhi-Shichuang* 廣東史志-視窗 (Journal of Historical Account in Guangdong-Vision), vol. 4, 2008, 56-57.

²⁰ Joan Evangelina Judge, *Print and Politics: Shibao (The Eastern Times) and the Formation of the Public Sphere in Late Qing China, 1904-1911*, Columbia University, 1993; Fan Muhan 范慕韓, ed. *Zhongguo yinshua jindai shi (chugao)* 中國印刷近代史(初稿) (History of Printing and Publishing in Modern China), Beijing: Yinshua gongye chubanshe, 1995, 273-275.

establish Sino-Japanese artistic exchanges during the early twentieth century.²¹ The other most famous entrepreneur among all the members was Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣懷 (1844-1916), who was the founder of Tianjin Beiyang xixue xuetang 天津北洋西學學堂 (Beiyang Western Study School in Tianjin; renamed Beiyang University, 1895) and of the Imperial Bank of China (1897), and was a successful entrepreneur in railways, postal communication and commercial banking. He was appointed as Head of the Board of Posts and Communications in the Imperial cabinet of the Qing in 1911 just before the empire collapsed, and he chose to retire in Shanghai after that date,²² like Sheng Xuanhuai who also moved to Shanghai after the fall of Qing to seek peace, protection and an alternative career, and who joined the Tijinguan society's activities to continue a scholarly network and social life. Many former Qing officials including Chu Deyi 褚德彝 (known as Litang 禮堂, 1871-1942), Gu Xieguang 顧燮光 (known as Dingmei 鼎梅, 1875-1949), Li Ruiqing 李瑞清 (known as Mei'an 梅庵 and Qingdaoren 清道人, 1867-1920), Feng Xu 馮煦 (known as Menghua 夢華, 1843-1927), Zhu Xiaozang 朱孝臧 (known as Zumou 祖謀, 1857-1931), Lu Hui 陸恢 (known as Lianfu 廉夫, 1851-1920), Zhao Shigang 趙時綱 (known as Shuru 叔孺, 1874-1945), Wang Qi 王貶, Shang Yanzhi 商言志 (Shengbo 笙伯 1869-1962), Jin Rongjing 金蓉鏡 and Zeng Xi 曾熙 (known as Nongran 農髯, 1861-1930) also gathered in Shanghai after 1911.

Following the tradition of art societies in 19th-century Shanghai, the art associations organized elegant gatherings and provided spaces for calligraphers and painters to meet and to collaborate. But such informal elegant gatherings turned into commercially-oriented parties where managers were appointed to organize activities for the members and functioned as agents to take commissions on behalf of the artists. The regular spaces provided by the associations also enabled their members to display new works, to exchange ideas between themselves, and to meet customers. The senior or more famous members would draft the pay rate for junior members or artists newly-arrived in Shanghai, as a courtesy and service. They also publicized each member's pay rate on the society's publications or regulation books. The commercial environment changed the ambience of art societies: in the case of Tijinguan, the old form of elegant gathering was revised to meet the needs of a modern society. The members were immigrants to Shanghai from varied backgrounds. Therefore, there is a great diversity in terms of artistic styles and trends. The frequent exchanges between artists and collectors was evident in colophons and works. For instance, the leading members Wu Changshi and Wang Zhen often composed works under commercial commission or as non-profit scholarly gifts for their peer *jinshi* art devotees.

Since the mid-18th century, the subject of visiting steles had traditionally served as a documentation of the painter's leisure pursuits: in the case of Huang Yi 黃易 (1744-1802), it was used to portray his scholarly activity. The chosen theme also suggests another arising social network and the formation of intellectual circles

²¹ Hsing-Yuan Tsao, 'A Forgotten Celebrity: Wang Zhen (1867-1938), Businessman, Philanthropist, and Artist', in Ju-Hsi Chou, *Art at the Close of China's Empire*, Arizona: Phœbus Occasional Papers in Art History, vol. 8, 1998, 94-109.

²² Xia Dongyuan 夏東元 ed., *Sheng Xuanhuai nianpu changbian* 盛宣懷年譜長編 (Chronology of Sheng Xuanhuai), vol. 2, Shanghai: Shanghai Jiaotong daxue chubanshe, 2004, 927 and 962.



Figure 1 Rubbing of the *Eastern Han Inscription of the que outside the Grand Chamber of Mount Song*, Song dynasty rubbing of the Han stele. Rubbing on paper, mounted as album leaves, each 31 x 34 cm, formerly owned by Shen Shuyong, collection of Shanghai Tushu gongsi.



Figure 2 Rubbing of the *Eastern Han Inscription of the que outside the Grand Chamber of Mount Song*, mounted by Huang Yi, 1794. Rubbing on paper, 33 x 141 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing.

drawn upon their shared interest in antiquarian studies and the lure of stele study. It is also notable that the paintings of visiting steles tend to emphasize this 'activity' in a landscape setting rather than representing the actual content of the visited stele. It was not until late 19th century that artists began to incorporate paintings of the chosen theme and actual rubbings of the inscriptions from the stele into their scrolls and albums. The album of *Han Songshan Taishi shique ming* 漢嵩山太室石闕銘 (Inscription of the Watchtower Stele Outside the Grand Chamber of Mount Song of Eastern Han) (Fig. 1) is one earlier example which combines a rubbing from the actual stele, colophons of comment and paintings together in an album. The rubbing was mounted into album leaves and firstly owned by Zheng Fu 鄭簠 (known as

Gukou 谷口, Ruqi 汝器, 1622-1693), and later passed on from Xu Weiren 徐渭仁 (Zishan 紫珊, ?-1853), Wang Nan 王楠 (known as Rentang 任堂, active 1820-60s), Shen Shuyong 沈樹鏞 (known as Junchu 均初, Yunchu 韻初 and Zhengzhai 鄭齋, 1832-1873) to Zhang Zengxi 張增熙 (known as Xi 熙, Yuangao 元嶧, Siquan 弁群, Chake 查客, Chake 槎客, 1875~1922) before it was collected in Shanghai tushu gongsi 上海圖書公司 (Shanghai Book Company).²³ When Shen Shuyong obtained the rubbing of *Han Songshan Taishi shique ming* in 1866, he described in a colophon how delighted he was after six years of dreaming about owning it since he first saw it. He subsequently shared his joy with other scholar friends. At Shen's request, Yang Xian 楊峴 (known as Jianshan 見山 and Miaowong 藐翁, 1819-1896) and Deng Shangxi 鄧尚璽 (1795-1870, known as Chuanmi 傳密, Shouzhi 守之 and Shaobai 少白) wrote the label on the cover of the album. Wu Xizai 吳熙載 (known as Rangzhi 讓之, 1799-1870) also authenticated the work with an inscription in clerical script 'Zhongyue Taishi shixue ming, Song taben, Rangzhi shu 中嶽泰室石闕銘。宋拓本, 讓之署。' (Song dynasty rubbing of the inscription from the *que* or stone piers of the Grand Chamber in Central Peak [of Mount Song 嵩山]) for the frontispiece to confirm that the rubbing had survived from the Song dynasty. The owner, Shen Shuyong also added a series of colophons commenting on the rubbing and its inscription: he dated the original stele to the fifth year of Yuanchu of Eastern Han (118) based on the earliest account on the Mount Song *que* in *Heshuo fanggu ji* 河朔訪古記 (Exploring the Ancient Sites North of the Yellow River, 1363) by Guoluoluo Naxin 郭囉洛納新 (1309-1368, a Mongol).²⁴ Comparing previously recorded versions of this rubbing, the Ming *yilao* Gu Yanwu (1613-1682) saw a rubbing with only eleven lines with nine characters each intact; the version seen by Huang Shujing 黃叔璥 (known as Yupu 玉圃, 1682-1758) contained twenty-seven lines, yet with only thirty-nine characters undamaged; Shen's version contains twenty-nine lines with one hundred and thirty-six characters identifiable. Shen's version turned out to be an earlier rubbing made, as suggested by its previous owners Zheng Fu and Shen Shuyong, in the Song dynasty. If we compare Shen's version with the rubbing of the same stele in the album *Han Songshan Taishi shique ming* 漢嵩山太室石闕銘

²³ In addition to the colophons recording ownership, there are several collectors' seals throughout the album, mainly 'Zheng Fu zhi yin 鄭蠶之印' (Seal of Zheng Fu) and 'Gukou nong 谷口農' (Famer of the valley) of Zheng Fu; 'Shen Shuyong 沈樹鏞', 'Junchu suode Qin Han Liuchao wenzi 均初所得秦漢六朝文字' (Scripts from Qin, Han and Six Dynasties from Junchu's [Shen Shuyong] collection), 'Shen 沈', 'Shuyong zhiyin 樹鏞之印' (Seal of [Shen] Shuyong), 'Junchu shending 均初審訂' (Studied by Junchu [Shen Shuyong]) and 'Zhengzhai 鄭齋' (Studio name of Shen Shuyong) of Shen Shuyong; 'Xu Zishan miqie yin 徐紫珊秘篋印' (Seal of Zheng Zishan's secret cabinet), 'Xu yin Weiren 徐印渭仁' (Seal of Xu Weiren) and 'Zishan 紫珊' of Xu Weiren; 'Ren fu Tang 任父堂' (Elderly man Rentang), 'Wang Rentang fu jianchang shike zhizhang 王任堂父鑒藏石刻之章' (Seal of Wang Rentang, the elderly man, on collected carved stones) and 'Wang Nan zhiyin 王楠之印' of Wang Nan. I did not find the seal by Zhang Zengxi, however, according to Wu Changshi, Wang Zhen, Wu Dacheng and Chu Deyi's colophons, this album was surely collected by Zhang Zengxi during 1892-1919.

²⁴ 'Miaonan you shuangshi, quewai shiren yidui, qeshang duo jike, Hou Han Andi Yuanchu nian jian 廟南有雙石，闕外石人一對，闕上多記刻，後漢安帝元初年建。' (Two stones are on the south of the temple and outside the *que* are a pair of stone figures. There are inscriptions on the *que* which were erected during the Yuanchu era of Emperor An of the Eastern Han.). Guoluoluo Naxin 郭囉洛納新, *Heshuo fanggu ji* 河朔訪古記, *juan xia* 卷下, no page number given (<http://www.saohua.com/shuku/lidaibiji/lidaibiji160.htm>, accessed on 23 March, 2014).

(Inscription of the *que* outside the Grand Chamber of Mount Song of Eastern Han, the Palace Museum, Beijing, Fig. 2) collected by Huang Yi in the third month of *jiayin* 甲寅 (1794), it is apparent that the characters in Shen's rubbing are more distinct and well-defined, indicating that the rubbing was made earlier. As well as dating the rubbing, Shen further transcribed the identified characters onto one leaf and collated the text with Bi Yuan's *Zhongzhou jinshiji* 中州金石記 (Record of Metal and Stone Inscriptions from Zhongzhou-Henan, 1781) and Weng Fanggang's 翁方綱 (1733-1818) *Liang Han jinshi ji* 兩漢金石記 (Record of Metal and Stone Inscriptions from Western and Eastern Han Dynasties, 1789). In his study of inscriptions, Shen also consulted Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821-1907), one of the most well-regarded scholars on the study of textual evidence of his time, to identify characters via letter exchange. Two letters, one undated and the other dated in the *jisi* 己巳 year (1869) from Yu Yue, investigating the origin and interpretation of the Han writing based on the chapter 'Geographical Accounts' in *Historical Records of the Later Han Dynasty* (後漢書.地理志), were mounted and included in this album by Shen.



Figure 3 Wu Dacheng, *Investigating Steles at Mount Song*, c. 1866-72. Section of the *Album of the Eastern Han Inscription of the que outside the Grand Chamber of Mount Song*, ink on paper, 31 x 34 cm, Shanghai Tushu gongsi.



Figure 4 Huang Yi, *Investigating Steles at the Mount Ziyun*, 1793. Section from the *Album of Obtaining Rubbings of Twelve Steles*, 12 album leaves, ink on paper, 18 x 51.8 cm, Tianjin Museum.

Perhaps at the same time, in addition to his keen interest in the study of textual evidence with regards to this album, Shen also asked Wu Dacheng 吳大澂 (1835-1902), Shen's brother-in-law, for a painting on visiting steles for this album.²⁵ In the 'Songlu fangbei tu 嵩麓訪碑圖' (*Investigating Steles at the Mount Song*, Fig. 3), Wu Dacheng illustrated the Kaiyuan Temple 開元寺 and the pagoda on the hill top at the left, and the group of buildings of Songyang Shuyuan 嵩陽書院 (Songyang Academy of Classical Learning) in the central plane, embraced in a natural setting of mountain and forest. If one does not paying attention to the inscription which reads 'Investigating steles at Mount Song—painted at Zhengzhai's request. Dacheng. 嵩麓訪碑圖--鄭齋索畫，大澂', this work can be easily taken for a mere landscape painting. This is a scene of Wu's own creation delivered with thin and dry brushwork. However, the caravan and the donkey before the forest in the centre plane reminds us of Huang Yi's 'Ziyunshan tanbei tu 紫雲山探碑圖' (*Investigating the Stele at Mount Ziyun*, 1793,) (Fig. 4).²⁶

In 1892, Wu Dacheng was invited to the 90th birthday celebration of Shen Shuyong's mother. On this occasion, Shen Yuqing 沈毓慶 (son of Shen Shuyong, known as Xiaoyun 肖韻, 1868-1902) presented to Wu this album with his old work *Investigating Steles at Mount Song*. Lamenting how fast time went by, Wu made another painting, 'Zhongyue miao 中嶽廟' (*Temple of Central Mountain*, 1892) (Fig. 5), to be added to this album for the family. On this 1892 painting he wrote: "Twenty years ago I did a painting [to complement the rubbing]. When composing this addition, I remember Huang Xiaosong [Huang Yi] has a painting *Temple of Central*

²⁵ Friendship between Wu Dacheng and Shen Shuyong, see Li Jun 李軍, *Wu Dacheng jiaoyou xinzheng 吳大澂交遊新證* (New Study on Circle of Wu Dacheng), PhD. Thesis, Shanghai Fudan University, 2011, 69-84. Li suggests that Wu painted *Investigating Steles at the Mount Song* for Shen Shuyong in 1869, but there is no direct evidence for this dating as Wu's painting bears no date, only a short inscription stating this is composed upon request from Zhengzhai [Shen Shuyong].

²⁶ *Investigating the Stele at the Mount Ziyun* is one of the twelve paintings of 'Debei shier tu 得碑十二圖' (Obtaining Rubbings of Twelve Steles). This set of 12 paintings in ink on paper was composed by Huang Yi in 1793. It is mounted as album leaves with facing inscriptions, each double leaf 18 x 51.8 cm, collected in Tianjin Museum 天津博物館. For plates of the whole set, see *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu 中國古代書畫圖目*, 2001, vol. 10, 215-217.

Mountain among his *Investigating Steles* series, so I made a copy of Huang's work out of my memory, to be added to this rubbing album'.²⁷



Figure 5 Wu Dacheng, *Temple of Central Mountain*, 1892, Section of the *Album of the Eastern Han Inscription of the que outside the Grand Chamber of Mount Song*, ink on paper, 31 x 34 cm, Shanghai Tushu gongsi.



Figure 6 Huang Yi, *Temple of Central Mountain*. Section from *Investigating Steles in Mount Song and Luoyang*, 24 double album leaves, ink and pale colour on paper, 17.5 x 50.8 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing.

²⁷‘有余二十年前所作一圖，日憶黃小松〈訪碑圖〉中有〈中嶽廟〉一幀，補臨於後。’

The scene of Wu's *Temple of Central Mountain* is after Huang Yi's composition of the same scene in the album *Investigating Steles in Luoyang and Songshan* (嵩洛訪碑圖 c. 1796, Palace Museum, Beijing) (Fig. 6).²⁸ Wu even copied the colophon by Weng Fanggang originally inscribed in Huang Yi's painting onto his work. As early as 1888, through Li Yuancheng 李遠辰 (Yijun 貽雋, active 1870-90s), Wu Dacheng was able to see and make copies of the original set of 24 paintings of *Investigating Steles in Mount Song and Luoyang* by Huang Yi during his guest stay in Guangdong.²⁹ As Wu wrote in this 1888 copy of *Investigating Steles in Luoyang and Songshan*, he was so fond of Huang Yi's work that whenever he came across a handscroll or album leaf by Huang, he would try to make a copy of it to keep in his own collection.³⁰ It is possible that the painting *Temple of Central Mountain* composed in 1892 was based on the copy of Huang's painting he made in 1888, therefore, every word in the inscription and the detail in painting were faithfully reproduced. We can also see that this painting after Huang Yi's style is rendered in bold and broader brushwork, which is different from the work Wu had previously done for this album.

Finally, when the last recorded collector of the album, Zhang Zengxi, a well-off gentleman from Nanxun in Zhejiang Province, remounted the album with a new cover he asked Wu Changshi to write the title piece in the fourth month of the *jiwei*

²⁸ Huang Yi, *Investigating Steles in Luoyang and Songshan* 嵩洛訪碑圖, 1796, 24 album leaves with facing inscriptions, each double leaf 17.4 x 50.8 (Palace Museum, Beijing, *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 中國古代書畫圖目, 2001, vol. 23, p. 234-236). For his writing, see *Songluo fangbei riji* 嵩洛訪碑日記 (*Diary of Investigating Steles in Mount Song and Luoyang*); reprinted Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1985. Other studies on Huang Yi's investigation of steles are presented in Li Wenlan 李文蘭, *Huang Yi fangbei hou yanjiu* 黃易訪碑圖研究 (Study on Huang Yi's visit to the Steles), MA dissertation, Taipei University of Arts, 2007; Lilian Lang-Ying Tseng, 'Retrieving the Past, Inventing the Memorable: Huang Yi's Visit to the Song-Luo Monuments', in Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin eds., *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003, p. 37-58; Eillen Hsiang-Ling Hsu's 'Huang Yi's Fangbei Painting', Lilian Lang-Ying Tzeng's, 'Mediums and Messages: The Two Family Shrines and Cultural Production in Qing China', Qian Shenbai's 'The Intellectual Legacy of Huang Yi and His Friends: Reflection on Some Issues Raised by Recarving China's Past' and Cary Y. Liu's 'The 'Wu Family Shrines' as a Recarving of the Past', all edited in Cary Y. Liu, Michael Nylan and Anthony Barbieri-Low eds., *Recarving China's Past: Art, Archaeology and Architecture of the 'Wu Family Shrine'*, New Heaven and London: Yale University Press, 2005, p. 237-258; 261-281; 287-337 and 20-51; Lu Huiwen 盧慧紋, 'Han bei tuhua chu wenzhang-cong Jining zhouxue de Han bei tan shiba shiji houqi de fangbei huodong 漢碑圖畫出文章-從濟寧州學的漢碑談十八世紀後期的訪碑活動' (Han Steles at the Jining Prefectural School and Stele-Investigating Activities in Late-Eighteenth Century), *Taida Journal of Art History*, no. 26, 2009, pp. 37-92; and Qin Ming 秦明, 'Huang Yi de Han Wei beike jianchang 黃易的漢魏碑刻鑒藏' (Huang Yi's Connoisseurship on Steles from Han and Wei Dynasties), Palace Museum ed., *Penglai suyue-Gugong cang Huang Yi Han Wei beike teji* 蓬萊宿約-故宮藏黃易漢魏碑刻特集 (An Invitation from the Ancients in Penglai-Special Catalogue on Huang Yi's Former Collection of Steles from Han and Wei Dynasties at the Palace Museum), Beijing: Palace Museum, 2010, 10-23.

²⁹ There is also a collector's seal 'Lijin Li Yijun pingsheng zhenshang 利津李貽雋平生真賞' affixed at the end of Huang Yi's album of *Investigating Steles in Luoyang and Songshan*, Palace Museum, Beijing. Huang Yi's album was owned by Weng Fanggang, Yi Bingshou 伊秉綬 (1754-1815), and then Li Yijun in the late 19th century.

³⁰ Wu Dacheng, *Investigating Steles in Luoyang and Songshan after Huang Yi*, 1888. 19 album leaves, ink on paper, 24.9 x 15.6 cm, formerly collected by Matsumaru Tōgyo 松丸東魚 (1901-1975). Plates are published in Suzuki Kei ed., *Chūgoku kaiga sōgō zuroku* 中國絵画総合図録 (Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Paintings), Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1982-3, vol. 4, p. 512-513.

己未 year (1919). Chu Deyi 褚德彝 (known as Deyi 德儀 and Songchuang 松窗, 1871-1942) was invited to write colophons to honour Zhang's new acquisition of this precious Song rubbing.



Figure 7 Wang Zhen, *Acquiring Rubbings* 得碑圖, 1919. Section of the *Album of the Eastern Han Inscription of the que outside the Grand Chamber of Mount Song*, ink on paper, 31 x 34 cm, Shanghai Tushu gongsi.

Zhang also asked Wang Zhen for a painting, *Acquiring Rubbings* (得碑圖, 1919) (Fig. 7), in the summer of the same year, to be mounted at the back of the album. Departing from the traditional composition as seen in the earlier works by Huang Yi, Dai Xi 戴熙 (1801-1860), and Wu Dacheng, in which the subject 'stele' is rendered in a landscape setting with bird's-eye perspective and pale ink, Wang Zhen's work emphasizes the collector's action of studying the rubbing in his studio. In Wang's painting, Zhang Zengxi is portrayed as an elderly man hunching his back and holding the rubbing with both hands. He is so concentrated on reading the inscription on the rubbing that his face almost touches the paper. Piles of albums, books and scrolls on the desk demonstrate Zhang's scholarly pursuit. In the left-hand corner of his studio, the planted lotus displayed on a tall stand is rendered with abundant, dense ink in freehand brushwork and boneless style, creating a potent blend of calligraphy with the edged and pointed Han stele manner inherited from Wu Changshi. It also gives a vivid account of the collector's attentiveness to rubbing, not displaying it as a collectable thing, but as an object of scholarship. The albums consisted of rubbings, painting, calligraphy and commentary on ideographs along with inscriptions to record various social events. The fashion of mounting rubbings and painting together also indicates a new trend since mid-Qing onwards, which began to reform artistic presentation and gave birth to the new style of visual production in Shanghai.

Besides this, Wu Changshi also carved a seal for Zhang Zengxi after the style of Han steles. The seal in relief reads: 'Chu Deyi of Yuhang, Zhang Zengxi of

Wuxing and Wu Changshi of Anji jointly authenticate this'.³¹ On the side of the seal, it bears a long inscription:

Chake, the renowned connoisseur, recently acquired a Song rubbing from the Taishi cave of Mount Song. The writing is unadorned and elegant. Having more than ten characters that were not seen in other versions made this piece even more valuable. When Songchuang [Chu Deyi] and Laofou [Wu Changshi] were invited to view this, we were compelled by its ancient worshipfulness, and an abundant atmosphere flew in his study all day long. Chake ordered me to compose a poetic inscription for *Acquiring Rubbings* [painted by Wang Zhen], and to inscribe this on to the seal I carved to commemorate this scholarly occasion. In the past Zhao Wumen [Zhao Zhiqian, 1829-1884] once made a seal on the subject of 'joint authentication' for Wei Jiasun [?-1881], Shen Junchu and Hu Ganbo [Hu Jue, 1840-1910], this was a much-told story among artists. How could Chake resist humoring our predecessors a little whilst his great passion for antiquity is glaring? Three days before the Great Summer fest in year of *yiwei* (19th June, 1919), the 76-year old Daoist Fou [Wu Changshi] records this while wiping off sweat at the Studio of Addiction in north Shanghai.³²

The inscription made reference to activities of the eminent artist of three perfections – painting, calligraphy and seal carving – Zhao Zhiqian and his circle, who contributed greatly to the fashion of epigraphic study in the mid-19th century. It also gives details of the interaction and sharing of collectables between Wu's contemporary artists and collectors. In addition to the inscriptions on carved seals and painting that demonstrate a trend towards collecting rubbings of steles and antiquities, other materials also reflect such a fashion. Some artists inscribed their passion for Han steles on the ribs of fans, for instance, one of the members, Gao Shixian collected and inscribed the scripts after the stone stele 'Xixiasong 西狹頌' engraved in Wudu Prefecture of Gansu in Eastern Han dynasty (171), and had them carved by Sun Gengguan 孫更貫 (active 1910-20s) on the framework of a folding fan (Fig. 8). Rubbings of the carved ribs were made for preserving memory, knowledge exchange and as scholarly souvenirs. Numerous examples of inscriptions collected from ancient steles and bronze vessels, bronze knife-money, sealing clay and tiles were carved onto folding fan ribs and transcribed into rubbings that suddenly

³¹ 餘杭褚德彝吳興張增熙安吉吳昌碩同時審定印'

³² '查客鑒家，近得嵩闕太室宋拓，椎蠟古雅，與習見者多十餘字，疏足珍寶。時要松窗、老缶鑒賞，竟夕覺古穆之趣，舉室盎然。查客屬賦『得碑圖』詩，更為擬嵩闕題字例治石，志一重翰墨緣。昔趙無悶曾與魏稼孫、沈均初、胡甘伯作同時審定印，一時傳為藝林佳話。查客復古，奚敢多讓前賢？己未大暑節先三日（1919年6月19日），七十六叟缶道人揮汗記於滬北之癖斯堂。' Dai Shanqing 戴山清, *Wu Changshi yinying 吳昌碩印影* (Seals Imprints of Wu Changshi), Beijing: Beijing guangbo xueyuan chubanshe, 1992, 462; Chen Yingchang 陳穎昌, 'Wu Changshi zhuanke de yinwai qiuyin yanjiu 吳昌碩篆刻的印外求印研究' (Study on Wu Changshi's Seal Works and His Pursuits Beyond Seal Carving), *Mingdao xueshu luntan 明道學術論壇* (Mingdao Journal), no. 6 (3), 2010, 155.

became popular in the early 20th century; many examples can still be found in the collection of the Xiling Seal Society today in Hangzhou.³³



In late 19th-century Shanghai, the art societies would arrange elegant gatherings and provide opportunities for painters, calligraphers and seal carvers to meet and to collaborate. Over time, such elegant gatherings were gradually used for commercial purposes: the manager of society regularly hosted meetings for members, and received commission or dealing fees from collectors and artists for business, and the society became a meeting place for artists and customers and for exhibiting original works. The senior artist members would draft price lists for new members and introduce them to their circle; the publications of the society openly advertised the price list of each member. Such *jinshi* society functioned like a guild for artists and collectors, as Wan Qingli commented, the Tijinguan Society signified a shift from traditional elegant gathering of literati to a society for professional calligraphers and painters, and made great impact on the way art societies operated in the early 20th-century.³⁴

Figure 8. Gao Shixian, “Xixiasong” inscription carved by Sun Genguan on the ribs of a folding fan, 1940. Rubbing, ink on paper, Xiling Seal Society, Hangzhou.

B. Zhenshe 貞社 (Society of the Virtuous, 1912-1942)

To escape from being labelled as anti-Qing revolutionary, Huang Binhong arrived in Shanghai from Anhui in 1907. With the help of members of Guoxue baocunhui 國學保存會 (Society for Preservation of National Learning), Huang Jie 黃節 (1873-1935) and Deng Shi 鄧實 (1877-1951), he was accommodated in the library of Society and began to take part in editing *Guocui xuebao* 國粹學報 (National Essence Journal, 1905-1912), *Guoxue congshu* 國學叢書 (Encyclopaedia of National Learning), *Shenzhou guoguangji* 神州國光集 (National Glories of Cathay, 1908-1912) and the compendium *Meishu congshu* 美術叢書 (Encyclopaedia of Art, 1919-1936).³⁵

³³ Many examples can be found in the catalogue edited by the Xiling Seal Society, *Jinshi yongnian* 金石永年 (Longevity of Metal and Stone), Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 2008; and *Jinshi zhiyun-Xiling yinshe cang Chen Hongshou, Zhao Zhiqian, Wu Changshi huahui ceye ji wenfang qingwan tapian xuan* 金石之韻 - 西冷印社藏陳鴻壽、趙之謙、吳昌碩花卉冊頁及文房清玩拓片選 (Harmony of Metal and Stone-Flower Paintings of Chen Hongshou, Zhao Zhiqian and Wu Changshi and Rubbings of Refined Articles from Scholar's Study), Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2005.

³⁴ Wan Qingli 萬青力, *Bingfei shuairuo de bainian -shijiu shiji zhongguo huihuashi* 並非衰弱的百年—十九世紀中國繪畫史 (It Was Not A Century in Decline – Nineteenth-Century History of Chinese Painting), Taipei: Xiongshi meishu chubanshe, 2005, 128.

³⁵ Chen Zhenlian 陳振濂 ed., *Shengshi jiancang jicong-Huang Binhong zhuanji, tuxiang, wenxian* 盛世鑑藏集叢—黃賓虹專集.圖像.文獻 (Series on Splendid collections-Special Issue on Huang Binhong, Images and Documentations), Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2007, 108-109.

In 1909, he attended the first gathering of Nanshe 南社 (The South Society) in Suzhou organized by Liu Yazhi 柳亞子 (1887-1958) and Chen Qubing 陳去病 (1874-1933). Although it was a society promoting literature, Nanshe has a strong political orientation as fourteen of the seventeen founding members were revolutionaries from Tongmenghui 同盟會 (Chinese United League), the revolutionary party led by Sun Yatsen against the Qing government.³⁶

In addition to political activity, Huang also joined Zhongguo shuhua yuanjiuhui (the forerunner of Tijinguan) in 1910, and continued to be an active member after it was renamed in 1911. Perhaps owing to the limits of what a commercial art society could achieve, Huang established the Society of the Virtuous with Xuan Zhe 宣哲 (1866-1942) on the second floor of Siming Bank 四明銀行 between Ningpo Road 寧波路 and Jiangxi Road 江西路 in Shanghai on 27 April, 1912.³⁷ Most of members were the contributors to *Guocui xuebao* 國粹學報 (Journal of National Essence, 1905-1912), including Xu Quansun 許荃孫, Gao Qifeng 高奇峰 (1889-1933), Pang Zeluan 龐澤鑾 (1868-1916), Wang Renjun 王仁俊 (1866-1913) and Pang Laichen 龐萊臣 (Yuanji 元濟, 1864-1949)³⁸. With the help of Huang Jie 黃節 (1873-1935) and Deng Erya 鄧爾雅 (1884-1954), the Guangzhou Branch of Society of the Virtuous was also set up two days later to promote their political beliefs. In 'Zheshe jianzhang 貞社簡章' (Handbook of Society of the Virtuous) published in *Shenzhou ribao* 神州日報 (*The National Herald*, 28 April 1912), Huang described the society as 'named to convey the spirit of sticking to the old practice and keep it going for a long way. 取義抱守堅固, 持行久遠'³⁹. With two recommendation letters from existing members, people who were interested in ancient calligraphy, *jinshi* study and painting, and those who were keen yet not seeking to make a profit through antique collecting were welcome to take part in the society. The joining fee was 1 *yuan* and the annual fee was 2 *yuan*, and members met regularly from 1:00pm to 5:00pm every Saturday and Sunday.

Ten categories of objects the Society aimed to promote were:

1. ancient bronzes and jades with inscriptions;
2. authentic and old rubbings of steles and copybooks;
3. rare books;
4. scrolls of calligraphy and painting;
5. poems, colophons and inscriptions of art historical study;

³⁶ Zheng Yimei 鄭逸梅 ed., 'Nanshe sheyou xingshilu 南社社友姓氏錄' (Member List of Nanshe), *Nanshe congtan* 南社叢談 (Informal Notes on Nanshe), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1981, Appendix 1, 579-580.

³⁷ Xu Changming ed., *Shanghai meishuzhi* 上海美術志 (Record of Arts in Shanghai), Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 2004, 18, 267 and 268.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 37. Many members were authors of books on *jinshi* study: Pang Zeluan 龐澤鑾, *Chuta weiduanben Sui Yuangongji furen muzhi* 初拓未斷本隋元公姬夫人墓誌 (Earliest, Unbroken Rubbing of Epitaph of Madame Ji, Wife of Yuan Gong from Sui Dynasty), Shanghai: Shenzhou guoguang she 神州國光社, 1909; Wang Renjun 王仁俊, *Dunhuang shishi zhenji lu* 敦煌石室真蹟錄 (Collection of Rubbings from the Dunhuang Cave), Shanghai: Yiwen yinshuguan 藝文印書館, 1909; Pang Yuanji 龐元濟, *Xuzhai minghua lu* 虛齋名畫錄 (Record of Famous Paintings from the Private Collection of Xuzhai [Pang Yuanji]), Shanghai: Shangyouxuan 尚友軒, 1909.

³⁹ Wang Zhongxiu 王中秀 ed., *Huang Binhong wenji – shuhua bian shang* 黃賓虹文集-書畫編上 (Collected Essays of Huang Binhong – Calligraphy and Painting, Part I), Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 1999, 45.

6. *pulu* 譜錄 (chronology and manuals);
7. famous collectors' notes, lists and catalogues;
8. contemporary writings;
9. works by reputable artists and craftsmen from ancient to modern times;
10. translations on researching antiquity, contributed and selected from members' work and collections played a major role in the society's publications.⁴⁰

Whilst Huang felt that contemporary art and scholarship were in decline, this society aimed 'to preserve national essence, advance fine art, and to ratify patriotism 保存國粹，發明藝術，啟人愛國之心，' and it should function as a museum as the ones seen in advanced countries in Europe and North America.⁴¹

The categorization of objects for publication shows Huang's understanding of what constitutes the study of calligraphy, painting and *jinshi*. As soon as he began to work for Guoxue baocunhui, Huang's first article on seal studies 'Xu moyin 敘摹印' (Study on Seal Carving) for *Guocui xuebao* appeared in 1907 (nos. 30, 33, 38 and 39), and his first article on painting, 'Binhong lunhua 濱虹論畫' (Binhong's Comments on Painting), appeared on nos. 45 and 48 of *Guocui xuebao* in 1909 under his given name Huang Zhi 黃質. Before he published articles on *jinshi* studies for the press in Shanghai, Huang was already known for his seal-carving skills and enthusiasm for the Northern School calligraphy style. As early as 1903, he had already compiled a book 'Binhong jiyin cun 濱虹集印存' (Seal Collection of Binhong) with a preface, which is his earliest known dated manuscript. In this brief preface, he already expressed his appreciation of ancient seals (whether of bronze or stone) on which the carved characters revealed the origin of the script system and the development of ancient civilisation. Therefore, in Huang's view, these seals were as valuable as inscribed bronze tripods and bells.⁴² He also edited the available ancient seal imprints into an *Album of Ancient Seal Inscriptions* 古璽釋文冊 (undated) with comments on dating, identification and explanation of those long forgotten script forms.⁴³ Paying much attention to ancient script, Huang considered the key to excellent painting the perfecting of calligraphy with a wider exposure to art history and early materials, such as epigraphs and scripts found on seals and bronze. Such emphasis naturally led Huang Binhong to learn from the calligraphy of the pre-Tang masters.

⁴⁰ Huang Binhong, 'Zheshe jianzhang,' *Shenzhou ribao* (*The National Herald*), 28 April 1912.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 45-46.

⁴² The manuscript of 'Binhong jiyin cun 濱虹集印存' (Seal Collection of Binhong) dated 1903 is in the collection of Anhui Provincial Museum 安徽省博物館; his preface is edited in Wang Zhongxiu 王中秀 ed., *Huang Binhong wenji – jishi bian* 黃賓虹文集—金石編 (Collected Essays of Huang Binhong – Metal and Stone), Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 1999, 231.

⁴³ Huang Binhong, *Album of Ancient Seal Inscriptions* 古璽釋文冊, undated. Seal imprints and calligraphy on paper, 21 x 22cm, Zhejiang Provincial Museum.

Defining literati painting through *Jinshi*

Growing up in Anhui, Huang and the locals were much influenced by their native-townsmen Deng Shiru 鄧石如 (1743-1805) and Bao Shichen 包世臣 (1775-1855), who promoted the aesthetics of stele-style calligraphy of pre-Tang.

The trends on investigating steles not only had an impact on the study of history and textual evidence research; it also stimulated a novel fashion in calligraphic style. In the 19th century, three crucial essays, *Nanbei shupai lun* 南北書派論 (Treatise on the Northern and Southern Schools of Calligraphy, 1814) and *Beibei nantie lun* 北碑南帖論 (Treatise on the Northern Stele and Southern Copybook, 1819), both by Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849); and *Yizhou shuangji* 藝舟雙楫 (Two Oars of the Ship of Art, 1848) by Bao Shichen, were developed in such circumstances. Their publications provided a theoretical basis for the Epigraphic School, offered a module in calligraphic styles, more significantly, they also promoted *bei ti* 碑體 (stele-script style) of the Han (202 BC-220) and the Northern Wei (386-534). Seeing the stele-script style as the legitimate successor to the development of the Han and Wei calligraphy, the 19th-century scholars' evaluation of inscribed steles and the study of textual evidence challenged the dominance of *tie xue* 帖學 (the copy-book script style) in Chinese art history. Kang Youwei stressed that with Bao's promotion in his *Anwu lunshu* 安吳論書 (Discourse on Calligraphy) of the brush method inspired by a recently-discovered stele, many scholars and calligraphers of the lower Yangzi delta were under his influence, and the study of stele script style reached its apogee thereafter⁴⁴.

Whilst Deng Shiru and mid-Qing calligraphers took their model for seal script from Qin and Han, and Wu Changshi traced it back to the earlier seal script style modelled on the Stone-drum steles 石鼓, Huang Binhong preferred the style of incised or cast bronze inscriptions from the three dynasties of early China. He wrote:

Calligraphy and painting share the same origin. From the ancient time when speaking of method of painting, it is regarded to be similar to that of writing; inscriptions on metal and stone objects are models of calligraphy.

Considering the origin of calligraphy and painting, one must research the greater and lesser seal scripts and to explore the script style on ancient bells and *ding* tripods.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Bao Shichen 包世臣, *Anwu lunshu* 安吳論書 (Discourse on Calligraphy), collected in Yao Jinyuan 姚覲元 ed., *Zhijinzhai congshu* 咫進齋叢書 (Book Series of Zhijinzhai Studio), 1884; reprinted in Yan Yiping 嚴一萍 ed., *Baibu congshu jicheng* 百部叢書集成 (Compilation of a hundred book series), Taipei: Yiwen yinshu guan 臺北藝文印書館景印本, vol. 77, 1968. Kang Youwei, 'Zunbei dier 尊碑第二' (Chapter Two-Advocacy of Stele Style) in *Guangyizhou xuangji* 廣藝舟雙輯 (Extended *Two Oars of the Ship of Art*), *juan* 1, 1891; reprinted by Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 2006, chapter 2; Hua Rende, 'The History and Revival of Northern Wei Stele-Style Calligraphy,' in Cary Y.; Dora C.Y. Ching and Judith G. Smith eds., *Characters and Context in Chinese Calligraphy*, NJ: Princeton University Art Museum, 1999, 128.

⁴⁵ '書畫同源。自來言畫法者，同於書法，金石文字，尤為法書所祖。考書畫之本源，必當參究籀篆，上窺鍾鼎款式。' Huang Binhong, 'Jinwen zhulu 金文著錄' (Study on Bronze Inscriptions); in Wang Zhongxiu ed., *Huang Bonhong wenji-jishi bian*, 492.

To excel in painting technique, Huang Binhong proposed that one must be skilled, not only in the stele and copybook-style calligraphy, but also in style of the ancient bronze-script from early China. In his categorization of painters, in an essay titled 'Huajia pingge zhi quyi 畫家品格之區異' (Disparities in the Classification of Painters, 1929), he wrote that there are roughly three types of painting of 'orthodox [Chinese] national painting' (*guohua zhengzong* 國畫正宗):

The first type is *wenren* [scholarly or literati] painting, made by poets and writers, and people who study *jinshi*; the second type is famous painting, following method of Southern or Northern School of painting; the third type is master-painting which combines a variety of styles from painters of different schools without prejudice.⁴⁶

In Huang's opinion, what constitutes the style of 'literati or scholarly painting' depended on the background of artists; in other words, only the works that reveal a lyrical quality by the men of letters or those that convey the spirit of antiquarian study and nurtured by *jinshi* study can be classified as literati painting.

The idea of 'literati painting' was first formulated in Northern Song and was prized above the academic painters later by Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636). While traditionally, the Song literati painters were mostly scholar-officials who aimed to reveal their inner characters and to communicate with nature through brushwork, and to harmonize artful forms with poetry and philosophy; in Ming, rather than pursuing a career in government, some literati chose to focus on their self-cultivation in painting and formed a learned society with their friends. Most of painters would make income from their work either by exchange or in the form of monetary gifts. Poets and painters overlapped, capturing the essence of Confucian ideology.

If we consider the changing society and situation of Chinese artists since late Ming, especially for those who were active as professional artists in Shanghai after the mid-19th century, despite their scholarly identity, official titles or their learned background, most of the artists were professionals who supported their living by selling calligraphy and painting, earning money through writing for newspapers, serving as editor for publishers, offering lessons in painting and calligraphy, and even by offering their knowledge in antique connoisseurship as consultants; some of them became art dealers themselves. Therefore, Huang Binhong's classification does not directly distinguish between professional and the amateur artists, for a better justification for the artists living in modern China. By defining 'literati' painting through *jinshi* study that touches the core of elite culture, Huang aimed to emphasize that *jinshi* learning, especially practice in seal and clerical scripts, would supplement one's mastery of calligraphy, therefore, when applying calligraphic brushwork to painting, the outcome of the brushwork would be '*shen hou chen yu* 深

⁴⁶ '一曰文人畫，有詞章家，有金石家；二曰名家畫，有南宗法，有北宗法；三曰大家畫，學取眾長，不分門戶⁴⁶。' Huang Binhong, 'Huajia pingge zhi quyi 畫家品格之區異' (Disparities in the Classification of Painters), *Meizhan* 美展, no. 1, 1929; in Wang Zhongxiu ed., *Huang Binhong wenji – shuhua bian shang*, 466.

厚沉鬱' (forceful, abundant, hefty and intricate), representing essence of a scholarly art.⁴⁷

In Huang's view: 'In the Daoguang and Xianfeng eras of Qing, the former dynasty, there was a revival of painting owing to the thriving study in *jinshi*', 'The method of painting was restored during the Daoguang and Xianfeng eras, hence the method for brushwork was finally accomplished', and 'The study of *jinshi* was thriving during the Daoguang and Xianfeng era of Qing. By following the eminent exemplars of Ming and taking models from Northern Song, the painting [of this mid-Qing] got rid of the frail style of Loudong and Yushan Schools [of early Qing]'.⁴⁸ According to Huang, it was due to the flourishing study of *jinshi* that painting in mid-Qing onwards could be reinvigorated, and pay homage to the true spirit of 'literati' painting.

C. Guangcang xuejiong 廣倉學窘 (Society of Cang Jie Study, 1916-c. 1941)

In the spring of 1916, Ji Juemi 姬覺彌 (act. 1890-30s) and Zou An 鄒安 (Jingshu 景叔, 1864-1940) established the Society of Cang Jie Study under the sponsorship of the Jewish real estate tycoon Silas Aaron Hardoon 哈同 (1847-1931) in Hardoon Garden in the Western district of Shanghai. Compared to the members of the Society of the Virtuous who supported an anti-Qing revolution and the Republicans, the members of the Society of Cang Jie Study were mainly former Qing officials or loyalists who wished to restore the Qing emperor. Chaired by Feng Xu 馮煦 (Hao'an 蒿庵, 1842-1927), its key figures included Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866-1940), Wang Guowei 王國維, Zhang Yansun 張硯孫, Li Hanqing 李漢青 (1870-1944) and Fei Shujie 費恕皆.⁴⁹ Under the Society, there was an Art Academy that held meetings once a month, and a Museum of Antiquity that organized exhibitions twice a year in spring and autumn, and they invited famous collectors to have their collections displayed in the museum in Hardoon Garden. The members of the Society of Cang Jie Study were responsible for contributing essays and editing its publications.

The bi-monthly journal *Yishu congbian* 藝術叢編 (*Art Series*, 1916-1917) edited by Zou An was one of the most significant publications in ancient relics, distributed to more than 5,000 member-subscribers across China. Along with *Xueshu congbian* 學術叢編 (*Scholarship Series*, 1916-17) edited by Wang Guowei, both series were later re-edited and expanded into 24 volumes of *Guangcang xuejiong congshu, jialei* 廣倉學窘叢書甲類 (Compiled Publication of Society of Cang Jie Study, Category 1; known as *Xueshu congshu* 學術叢書) and *yilei* 乙類 (Category 2; known as *Yishu congshu* 藝術

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 466.

⁴⁸ '前清道咸金石學盛，繪畫稱為復興'；'道咸畫學復興，墨法始備'；'清道咸中金石學盛，繪事由明啟諸賢上溯北宋，一掃婁東虞山柔靡之習' Long Rui 龍瑞 and Mei Mosheng 梅墨生 eds., *Shuangxing huiying – Qi Baishi, Huang Binhong ceye, xinza, shigao zuopinji* 雙星輝映 – 齊白石黃賓虹冊頁、信札、詩稿作品集 (Dual Shining Stars – Album Leaves, Letters, Poems and Manuscripts of Qi Baishi and Huang Binhong), Beijing: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006, 200, letter 21.

⁴⁹ On Guangcang xuejiong 廣倉學窘, see Li Enji 李恩績, 'Ailiyuan: Haishang de migong 愛儼園—海上的迷宮' (Aili Garden: A Maze from Shanghai), *Ailiyuan mengying lu* 愛儼園夢影錄 (Record of Dream Shadows from Aili Garden); Xu Changming ed., *Shanghai meishuzhi*, 64 and 65.

叢書). Although the title of this series was named *yishu* (arts), it mainly covers *jinshi* study and latest archaeological discoveries, for example:

1. Zou An 鄒安. *Zhou jinwen cun* 周金文存 (Bronze Inscriptions of Zhou) and its *buyi* 補遺 (Supplement), 1916.
2. Zou An 鄒安. *Haoli yizhen shibo* 蒿里遺珍拾補 (Supplement to *Forgotten Essays from Haoli*)
3. Zou An 鄒安. *Yishu leizheng* 藝術類徵 (Classification and Characteristics of *Yishu* [Arts])
4. Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉. *Yinxu shuqi houbian* 殷虛書契後編 (Documents from Yin Sites, Part II), 1916.
5. Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉. *Yinxu gu qiwu tulu* 殷虛古器物圖錄 (Catalogue of Ancient Objects from Yin Sites), 1916.
6. Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉. *Jinshi nixue* 金石泥屑 (Catalogue of Small Metal, Stone and Clay Objects), 1916.
7. Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉. *Gu qiwu fan tulu* 古器物範圖錄 (Catalogue of Moulds for Ancient Objects), 1916.
8. Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉. *Yinwen cun* 殷文存 (Inscriptions from the Yin [Shang] Dynasty), 1917.
9. Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉. *Gu mingqi tulu* 古明器圖錄 (Catalogue of Ancient Burial Objects), 1916.

In addition to stele style, the scope of *jinshixue* was once again expanded from steles, epigraphy and bronzes into wider varieties of subject areas, resulting from groundbreaking findings of oracle inscriptions, inscribed bamboo strips, and clay impression of seal. The unearthed relics provided fresh support to evidence-based research and antiquarian study. In the late 19th and early 20th-century, this traditional scholarship was further viewed as historical data and developed into a scientific and systematic study by scholars such as Luo Zhenyu and Wang Guowei. In terms of content of '*yishu*', the selection of objects for the essays and catalogues actually reflects what these scholars thought could best represent the artistic beauty and technique of object-making and thus constitutes the philosophy behind the characters *yi* and *shu*.

It is also worthy noting that the topics covered in this *Art Series* actually overlapped with the titles collected in *Guoxue congkan* 國學叢刊 (Journal of National Learning; 1910-1912, 1914-1915) that Wang Guowei and Luo Zhenyu established in Shanghai, for instance:

1. Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉, *Yinxu shuqi qianbian* 殷虛書契前編 (Documents from Yin Sites, Part I), Shangyu Luo Zhenyu Yongmuyuan 上虞羅振玉永慕園, 1912.
2. Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉. *Xichui shike houlu* 西陲石刻後錄 (Postscripts to *Carved stones from the Western borders of China*), in Luo Zhenyu and Wang Guowei eds., *Guoxue congkan* 國學叢刊 (Series on National Learning), volume 7, Shanghai: Shangyu Luoshi 上虞羅氏, 1914.
3. Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉. *Gua Sha Caoshi xipu* 瓜沙曹氏系譜 (Genealogy of the Cao family in Gua and Sha [Counties]), in Luo Zhenyu and Wang

- Guowei eds., *Guoxue congkan* 國學叢刊 (Series on National Learning), volume 11, Shanghai: Shangyu Luoshi 上虞羅氏, 1914.
4. Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉. *Sui Tang bing fu tulu* 隋唐兵符圖錄 (Catalogue of Sui and Tang Military Tallies), preface dated 1909, in Luo Zhenyu and Wang Guowei eds., *Guoxue congkan* 國學叢刊 (Series on National Learning), volume 1, Shanghai: Shangyu Luoshi 上虞羅氏, 1910.
 5. Huang Renheng 黃任恒 黃任恒 (1876—1953), *Shili jianchao* 石歷簡鈔, 1911, in Luo Zhenyu and Wang Guowei eds., *Guoxue congkan* 國學叢刊 (Series on National Learning), volume 2, Shanghai: Shangyu Luoshi 上虞羅氏, 1911.

While national learning was considered as representative of the state and elite culture, by linking *yishu* (art) with national learning and the 'nation' through the selection of articles and catalogues, the scholars of the Society of Cang Jie Study aimed to represent *jinshi* as national learning, in addition to its textual value. *Jinshi* directly referred to authenticating history through visual objects and inscriptions, and beyond the framework of textual evidence research, was becoming an 'art historical' study, with an objectivity and heritage that helped to reconstruct the nation and a culture in decline.

Wang Guowei considered the greatest discoveries in cultural relics in modern China to be: Classics from the walls in the Confucian Temple; bamboo strips from the Western borders; manuscripts and hand-copied sutras from Dunhuang; and the Imperial Archives of Yuan to Qing. Apart from the Classics from the Confucian Temple, the remainder of these ancient relics was only studied since late Qing. These objects were included in the category of *jinshi* study by scholars, which had a great impact on researching ancient civilisation and other related subject areas.⁵⁰

Luo Zhenyu and his fellow scholars engaged in *kaozhengxue* 考證學 (textual research) in the Classics, philology and history and used traditional learning as a demonstration of their cultural identity. Although modern scholars often regard Luo Zhenyu as a pioneer in Chinese archaeology and art history, Luo considered himself to be a Confucian scholar of textual research.⁵¹ The motivation for his collecting of bronze vessels and epigraphs of inscribed stones was not only for the aesthetic beauty of the objects themselves. Through the study of objects, his ultimate objective was to scrutinize the origins of the Chinese writing system and to close the gaps in recorded history with the newly discovered materials. Therefore, most of the items (now in the Lüshun Museum) that Luo deeply cherished comprise incised inscriptions, examples of which are a Shang bronze *ding* marked 'Fugui 父癸'

⁵⁰ See Wang Guowei, 'Zuijin Ersanshi Nian Zhongguo Xinfaxian Zhi Xuwen 最近二三十年中國新發現之學問', in *Jing'an Wenji* 靜庵文集 (Collected Essay of Jing'an-Wang Guowei), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1905; reprinted in Shengyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997, 203-207.

⁵¹ Luo Zhenyu, *Jilu bian* 集蓼編 (Autobiography of Luo Zhenyu), 1931, edited into *Luo Xuetang xiansheng quanji* 羅雪堂先生全集 (Complete Work of Mr. Luo Zuetang), series 5:1, Taipei: Datong shuju, 1868-72, 33-35. See also Shih-Ming Pai, 'Returning to the Classics, Trusting the Ancient: Luo Zhenyu's Exploration of Traditional Chinese Identity in Modern China,' in Chia-Ling Yang and Roderick Whitfield eds., *Lost Generation: Luo Zhenyu, Qing Loyalists and the Formation of Modern Chinese Culture*, 74-97.

(handed over from Dengfeng Street in 1958); a Shang bronze *zhi* vessel marked 'Shoufu 守婦' (handed over from Dengfeng Street in 1958); an Eastern Zhou bronze *zheng* bell marked 'Ran 冉' (purchased in 1957); a Qin bronze weight (handed over from Dengfeng Street in 1958); and a Ming dynasty miniature hill carved from the root of a tree (handed over from Dengfeng Street in 1958), all of which have incised inscriptions⁵². It was with 'inscribed characters' and their meaning and referred history that Luo Zhenyu was obsessed, not the mode, their formal style nor the techniques of making bronze vessels.

Luo considered it his great luck to be able to see the excavated oracle bone inscriptions, Dunhuang manuscripts, and burial objects from Han to Tang dynasties, which he felt made it possible for him to surpass the scholars and epigraphers of the early Qing.⁵³ These pioneering archaeological finds enriched his knowledge and offered primary resources for his research on ancient Chinese civilisation and writing systems. Luo also applied the categorization method normally used in textual research to the study of archaeology and objects. That is why in his publications, objects such as bronze mirrors, burial objects (*mingqi*), official seals of Sui and Tang, ink paste for sealing (*fengni* 封泥), tallies (*fupai* 符牌), paper banknotes and land deeds (*diquan* 地券) were separately catalogued and researched according to their types and functions, not grouped by period or geography. Luo believed that research in ancient materials and civilisation would offer people a measure of current society: the present-day is a reflection of history (*kaogu hengjin* 考古衡今). Therefore people would understand the origin and value of culture, where they are from, the proper moral accomplishment, and be able to make judgments concerning individual conduct and society. Therefore, his attitude towards archaeology carries a strong sense of ethical concepts and scholarly responsibility, and such sentiment toward *jinshi* study is shared among colleagues in the Society of Cang Jie Study and many Qing loyalists and antiquarians in the early 20th century.

Overlapping members of *Yilao* and *Jinshi* societies in Shanghai

After the collapse of Qing, many former officials and loyalists either moved abroad or relocated to Shanghai to escape from political turmoil and to make a living in the cultural industry. On the 7th day of the 10th month in year *renzi* 壬子 (1912), with the support of Kang Youwei, Shen Huanzang, Shen Zengzhi 沈曾植 (1850-1922), Liang Dingfen 梁鼎芬 (1859-1920) and Zhu Xiaozang 朱孝臧 (1857-1931) celebrated the birthday of Confucius in the Shandong Hall 山東會館 and set up Kongjiao hui 孔教會 (Confucian Society, 1912-1937) in Shanghai. In Shen's 'Preface for the Confucian Society', he mentioned that the motivation for setting up this society was 'fear that the decline of Confucian study will bring the ruin of China 懼大教之將亡而中國之不保也'. In order to save the nation, the society aims to

provide Confucian learning as method and to offer practical charitable aids to the society...[the teaching] combines Buddhist, Daoist, Christian and Muslim teachings into one, which originated in China and should be

⁵² For more examples and illustrations, see Lüshun Museum ed., *Lüshun Bowuguan* 旅順博物館 (Lüshun Museum), Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004, 17-47, 143.

⁵³ Luo Zhenyu, *Jilu bian*, in *Luo Xuetang xiansheng quanji*, series 5:1, 33.

promoted to countries overseas in order to remedy [degenerated] conscience, sustain the nation, elevate Confucian teaching, and glorify China.⁵⁴

It was believed by Qing loyalists that to restore 'tradition' was to reconstruct the nation. Regardless of Confucian learning or the study of ancient relics and Classics, the homage to 'tradition' was highly politicised and the study of 'tradition' signified national essence, a means to restore the order of society, and further protect Chinese culture from being ruined during the dynastic transition when China was divided by external and internal powers.

Therefore, in the fall of 1921, the Qing loyalists established Yazhou xueshu yanjiuhui 亞洲學術研究會 (Society of Asian Studies) and the *Journal of Asian Studies* edited by Wang Zonglin 汪鐘霖 (1867-after 1922), Deng Yanyuan 鄧彥遠 (act. 1890-1920s) and Sun Deqian 孫德謙 (1869-1935) in Shanghai. Members like Cao Yuanbi 曹元弼 (1867-1953), Zhang Ertian 張爾田 (1874-1945), Wang Guowei and Luo Zhenyu were also key contributors to this publication. Originally, the Society would meet up for lectures twice or three times monthly and it was intended that the journal would be published monthly. Later owing to financial difficulties, it was published quarterly and ended shortly after the 4th issue in 1922.⁵⁵

According to Zhen Xiaoxu's 鄭孝胥 (1860-1938) diary dated 10th August of 1923, he listed 20 Qing loyalists who jointly organized the Dongfang xuehui 東方學會 (Oriental Society) in Shanghai. These people, led by Ke Fengsun 柯鳳孫 (Ke Shaowen 柯劭忞, 1850-1933 or 1840-1934), include Luo Zhenyu, Wang Guowei, Zhu Xiaozang, Chen Sanli 陳三立 (1853-1937), Xu Naichang 徐乃昌 (1868-1936), Ye Erkai 葉爾愷 (1864-1937?), Zheng Xiaoxu, Li Ru 李孺 (act 1910-20s), Chen Yi 陳毅 (b1837), Aisin Gioro Baoxi 愛新覺羅寶熙 (1871-1942), Wang Jilie 王季烈 (1873-1952), Zhang Yu 章鈺 (1864-1934), Chen Zengju 陳曾矩 (1884-1943), Zhang Meiyi 張美翊 (1856-1924), Gu Hongming 辜鴻銘 (1857-1923), Guwalgiya Jinliang 瓜爾佳金梁 (1878-1962), Tao Baolian 陶葆廉 (1862-1938), Wang Bingen 王秉恩 (1845-1928) and Liu Chenggan 劉承幹 (1882-1963). The Oriental Society also invited international sinologists Richard Wilhelm 尉禮賢 (1873-1930) and Imanisi Ryu 今西龍 (1875-1932) to serve as board members. However, not much has been recorded on this short-lived society. According to the manuscript of 'Guidelines of the Oriental Society' drafted by Luo Zhenyu discovered in the collection of Lushun Museum, Luo listed 10 guidelines:

1. The society aims to promote the study of the three-thousand-year-old culture of the Orient, including four major areas: philosophy, history, literature and art.

⁵⁴ '以講習學問為體，以救濟社會為用...合釋老耶回而同歸，創始於內國，推廣于外洋，冀以挽救人心，維持國運，大昌孔子之教，聿昭中國之光。' Chen Huanzhang 陳煥章, 'Kongjiaohui xu 孔教會序' (Preface of the Confucian Society), *Kongjiaohui zazhi 孔教會雜誌* (Journal of the Confucian Society), no. 1, vol. 1, February 1913, 1; Zhang Songzhi 張頌之, 'Kongjiaohui shimo huikao 孔教會始末匯考' (Investigation on Development of the Confucian Society), *Wenshizhe 文史哲* (Journal of Literature, History & Philosophy), no. 1, 2008, 55-72.

⁵⁵ Luo Huijin 羅惠縉, 'Yazhou xueshu zazhi' kan minchu yimin de wenhua qingxiang 《亞洲學術雜誌》看民初遺民的文化傾向' (Cultural Identity of Qing Loyalists in Republican Era, as seen in 'Journal of Asian Studies'), *Wuhan University Journal (Humanity Sciences)*, no. 61, 2008:2, 218-223.

2. The headquarters of the society will be in Beijing and Tianjin, and branches will then be launched in every province.
3. Six areas of work for the society are:
 - A. Establish a library and museum to collect books and cultural relics.
 - B. Organise lectures in order to promote academic study.
 - C. Set up a printing plant to promote both ancient and modern scholarship; and publish its own academic journal.
 - D. Host international scholars for academic exchanges.
 - E. Set up a travel department. (detail is missing)
 - F. Set up an archeology department to excavate sites and famous ruins for antiquarian study.
4. The society plans to set up an Architecture Association in Beijing, and a library and a museum in Tianjin. Before they are built, we will have a preparatory office to run the necessary administrative work.
5. The funding will be collected in two phases: each phase [we will raise] 1 million yuan. In phase 1, [we will] spend 200,000 yuan in building a convention centre, library and museum. Substance for library holding and museum collection will be 400,000 yuan, the rest will go to the savings account for interest; the monthly interests [earned from banking] will be used for subsidizing basic costs.
6. The founding members will be responsible for fund-raising. The society welcomes contributions from international communities.
7. No restrictions on nationality of membership; whoever agrees with the rule of the society and are recommended by universities or higher education worldwide will be admitted to the society. The detailed rules will be established later.
8. Once the society is established, staff will be employed. The tentative positions are:
 - A. Chair and Vice Chair
 - B. Secretary
 - C. Accountant
 - D. Administrator
 - E. Translator
 - F. Receptionist
 - G. Household staff
9. In addition to the staff listed in item 8, we will invite reputed scholars, despite their nationalities, to the peer-review board for our publications.
10. [Blank]⁵⁶

Apart from recruiting members from the fields of philosophy, history, literature and arts, the society ran its own printing plant, museum, library and peer-review board. A considerable number of publications were put forward by the society and its members. Being Qing loyalists, Luo and his equals aspired to promote Eastern cultures and national Chinese learning globally. Through their

⁵⁶ Wang Ruo 王若, "Xinfaxian Luo Zhenyu 'Dongfang xuehui jian' shougaoba 新發現羅振玉《東方學會簡》手稿跋" (Newly Discovered Manuscript 'Oriental Society Guidelines' by Luo Zhenyu), *Zhonghua dushu bao* 中華讀書報, 20 August, 2008.

international contacts, especially with scholars in Europe and Japan, their impact on establishing Sinology as a discipline was immeasurable.

Jinshi society as museum or art market?

In 1912, Chaoran yinshe 超然吟社 (Poetry Society of Transcending the Worldly) was also established in Shanghai. Members who attended the first meeting in Fan Garden 樊園 (Private Garden of Fan [Zengxiang] 樊增祥, 1846-1931) were Zhai Hongji 瞿鴻禨 (1850-1918), Liang Dingfen 梁鼎芬 (1859-1920), Shen Zengzhi, Chen Sanli, Feng Xu, Fan Zengxiang, Shen Yuqing 沈瑜慶 (1858-1918), Zhou Shumo 周樹模 (1860-1925), Chen Kuilong 陳夔龍 (1857-1948), Wang Naizheng 王乃徵 (1861-1933) and Zhu Xiaozang. The membership overlapped between *jinshi* poetry and Confucian learning societies. But after the 19th meeting was held on 5 February 1914, half of the society members (including Zhou Shumo) went to serve the Republican government, and the poetry society Chaoran yinshe was disbanded. Like the Poetry Society of Transcending the Worldly, many non-profit art or literary societies in Shanghai did not survive long, especially after the economic situation became critical.

Other *jinshi* societies appeared after the Society of Cang Jie Study and Society of the Virtuous began to integrate with the art market following the successful model of Tijinguan, in which the art society was a place for taking commissions and negotiating prices for artists and charging service fees from the sales. With a strong emphasis on the use of *jinshi* in developing one's art, Huang Binhong regarded *jinshi* and ancient objects as cultural relics. In his view therefore, the art society, such as Society of the Virtuous should host exhibitions and serve as a 'museum space,' enabling people to exchange their studies, to display their collections and to accumulate knowledge. As he indicated in an article in *Shenbao* (1903): 'from elites down to the common folk (*minshu* 民庶), [exhibitions] are understood to be about strengthening and enriching [the nation], and not, as expected, about pleasuring the senses [literally, traveling through ear and eye 並不以為耳目之游]'.⁵⁷

Between 1907-1937 his stay in Shanghai, Huang Binhong also set up another Society of Chinese Metal and Stone, Calligraphy, Painting and Art-Views at No. 309-2 in Weihai Road 威海路 in 1926. With his aim of preserving national essence, admissions for membership and criteria for publication were similar to the handbook of the Society of the Virtuous, however, this society provided service to members such as displaying and selling their own work, books, and antique collections with a 10% commission fee.⁵⁸ Members were also allowed to publish their writing in the journal subsidized by the society, *Yiguan huakan* 藝觀畫刊 (Illustrated Journal of Art-Views, 1926, no 1-4) which was renamed as *Yiguan zazhi* 藝觀雜誌 (Journal of Art-Views), which was only published once in 1927. It was

⁵⁷ 'Bolanhui kao 博覽會考' (Discussion on Exhibition), *Shenbao* 申報, 13 March 1903, 1.

⁵⁸ Huang Binhong, 'Zhongguo jinshi shuhua yiguan xuehui jianzhang 中國金石書畫藝觀學會簡章' (Handbook for the Society of Chinese Metal and Stone, Calligraphy, Painting and Art-views), *Yiguan huakan* 藝觀畫刊, no. 3, 1926; edited in Wang Zhongxiu 王中秀, *Huang Binhong wenji – shuhua bian shang*, 276-278, 299-230.

resumed in 1929-1930 for 6 more monthly issues before ceasing due to financial difficulty.⁵⁹

The exhibitions and object displays organized by art societies did not only feature just ideas, but also cultural practice, yet at the same time, they could not avoid appropriating commercial interests. Inevitably, the exhibitions organized in the societies turned from display spaces into art markets. Although to begin with, in funding the Society of the Virtuous, Huang rejected the commercial dealing of antiquities, as discussed above, Hong Zaixin suggests that Huang Binhong ultimately played a major role in antique dealing in Shanghai, and was the owner of Zhouguzhai 宙古齋 antique shop since 1914.⁶⁰ The same contradictory role was also seen in Qing loyalists like Wang Guowei and Luo Zhenyu, and their dealing of antiquity with foreign buyers.

In the early 20th century, antique dealing was not for poetic mood or refined interests, but instead, was often related to the harsh reality that the jobless Qing imperial family and former officials had to face. In Aisin Gioro Baoxi's seventeen letters to Luo Zhenyu, dated from 1912 to 1936, Baoxi clearly stated that he found himself in a woeful predicament after the fall of Qing. As he could no longer afford to feed his family, he was forced to sell his family art collections to survive. Yet it would be too embarrassing to sell it to friends or buyers he knew in China, and the price would be low. So he consequently asked Luo Zhenyu to sell them to the Japanese who would normally offer a better price and would appreciate various kinds of objects, from paintings, calligraphy, ancient coins, epigraphs, manuscripts and rare books.⁶¹ Taking the letter written on 15th October 1912 as an example, Baoxi made a list for paintings he asked Luo to sell for him:

Shen Shitian (Shen Zhou, 1427-1509), Landscape, long handscroll, 220 *yuan*
Zhao Zigu (Zhao Mengjian, 1199-1264), Orchid, handscroll, 330 *yuan*
Wen Jia (1501-1583), Immortal Land, small hanging scroll, 110 *yuan*
Wen Hengshan (Wen Zhengming, 1470-1559), Three Perfections, handscroll, 330 *yuan*
If [you wish to] keep them, the prices are as listed, [you can] pay me in Chinese currency. If not, the price for Zhao Zigu and Wen Hengshan's scrolls would be eight hundred and forty Chinese *yuan*. If your Japanese friends wish to purchase them, the price could be reduced to seven hundred Chinese *yuan*.⁶²

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 295.

⁶⁰ Hong Zaixin 洪在新, 'Guwan jiaoyi zhong de yishu lixiang-Huang Binhong, Wu Changshi yu 'Zhongguo minghua-Shi Deni cangpin yingben' shimo kaolue 古玩交易中的藝術理想 - 黃寶虹、吳昌碩與〈中華名畫—史德匿藏品影本〉始末考略' (Artistic Ideal in Art Market-An Investigation of the Whole Story of Huang Binhong, Wu Changshi, and Masterpieces of Chinese Painting—Reproduction of E A Strehlneek's Collection), *Meishu yanjiu* 美術研究, no. 4, 2001, 39-48 and no. 1, 2002, 40-43.

⁶¹ Fang Xuehui 房學惠 and Wang Yu 王宇, 'Baoxi zhi Luo Zhenyu xinzha shiqi tong 寶熙致羅振玉信札十七通' (Seventeen Letters from Baoxi to Luo Zhenyu), *Wenxian jikan* 文獻季刊, April 2002, No. 2, 243-254.

⁶² 沈石田山水長卷 二百二十圓
趙子固蘭花卷 三百三十圓
文嘉仙山圖小幅 一百一十圓
文衡山三絕卷 三百三十圓

The letter provides us with a moving picture of Baoxi's uneasy situation of having to trade his family collection to make a living. It also offers information of a different guide price for works by famous Song and Ming painters to Chinese and Japanese buyers and an indication of what works were preferred by Japanese at that time. Also from a letter dated 24th September 1912, the commission fee Luo gained for each sold item was around 20% of the sale price.⁶³ Besides this, Luo Zhenyu often kept the ones he could afford, and sold the rest of the objects he was entrusted with to his Japanese circle. According to the list of Luo's own painting collection, we notice that Luo did indeed keep Zhao Zigu's Orchid painting and Shen Zhou's landscape painting sent to him by Baoxi in 1912.⁶⁴ So we could assume that the sources of Luo Zhenyu's art collection were not only from the antique shops in cities, but many of them, especially the most valuable ones, came directly from the family collections of his *yilao* friends. Even when Luo and Baoxi had both moved to Dalian and Lushun, Baoxi still mentioned the hardships he had in life. The only way he could make a living was to sell his calligraphy, and he continued to put on the market the remainder of his family collection, such as rare books, ancient coins, and a precious silver necklace of Eastern Han that he would never have consented to part with if he had not been so desperate.⁶⁵ Baoxi also mentioned that other *yilao*, such as Dong Kang 董康 (Dong Shoujing 董授經, 1867-1942), Shixu 世續 (1852/3-1921), Yuan Lihuai 袁勵准 (Yuan Yusheng 袁鈺生, 1875-1938), Wang Shouchen 王壽宸 and Fang Ruo 方若 (Fang Yaoyu 方藥雨, 1869-1954) were also selling antiques and rare books as a source of revenue.

In Ke Fengsun's 23 letters to Luo, we could also see similar difficulties in terms of finance and identity that Qing loyalists encountered during this period of change.⁶⁶ Because of Luo Zhenyu's Japanese connections, Luo was able to trade art for his friends and for himself for money; yet his art dealing with the Japanese has often been criticised by historians and his patriotic contemporaries. Although he himself expressed the sadness and anguish of being too powerless to keep the cultural relics inside China many times, it was a difficult situation for him to wish to preserve heritage in Chinese hands, and at the same time to be in want of money for his family and his poverty-stricken *yilao* friends.⁶⁷

、文二卷定價八百四十圓。日友如留，可減為中幣七百圓。’

Ibid., letter number 7 (15th October, 1912), ‘Baoxi zhi Luo Zhenyu xinzha shiqi tong,’ 249.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, letter number 4 (24th September, 1912), ‘Baoxi zhi Luo Zhenyu xinzha shiqi tong,’ 245.

⁶⁴ Luo Zhenyu, *Chenhanlou suocang shuhua mulu*, edited by Luo Fuyi in *Zhensong laoren yigao bingji* 貞松老人遺稿丙集 (Posthumous writings of Zhensong Old Man – Luo Zhenyu, vol. 3), Shenyang, 1947, series 3:2, 29 (for Zhao Zigu's Orchid painting); 32 (for Shen Zhou's landscape handscroll)

⁶⁵ Fang Xuehui and Wang Yu, letter number 16 (12th September, 1936) ‘Baoxi zhi Luo Zhenyu xinzha shiqi tong,’ 253.

⁶⁶ Fang Xuehui and Wang Yu, ‘Ke Shaowen zhi Luo Zhenyu shouzha ershisan tong 柯劭忞致羅振玉信札二十三通’ (Twenty-three Letters from Ke Shaowen to Luo Zhenyu), *Wenxian Jikan*, January 2001, no. 1, 221-238.

⁶⁷ Luo Zhenyu, *Jilu bian* 集蓼編 (Autobiography of Luo Zhenyu), 1931; in *Luo Xuetang xiansheng quanji quanji*. Series 5:1, Taipei: Wenhua chuban gongsi, 1968-1977, 24; Chia-Ling Yang, ‘Deciphering Antiquity into Modernity: The Cultural Identity of Luo Zhenyu and the Qing Loyalists in Manzhonguo,’ in Chia-Ling Yang and Roderick Whitfield eds., *Lost Generation: Luo Zhenyu, Qing Loyalists and the Formation of Modern Chinese Culture*, 172-209.

Re-writing history with archaic models

At the turn of the century, practitioners of traditional learning and *jinshi* study both claimed to be 'Preserving the National Essence of China,' despite the different political stances they took. Some artists presented calligraphy as 'historical artifact', rather than explore the technique of ancient calligraphy. At the same time, the function and format of the elegant gathering changed accordingly; the appreciation of visual materials shifted from painting to antique objects, excavated archaeological findings, rubbing of steles or inscriptions incised on bronze vessels and mirrors, therefore, created a unique intellectual culture and new social spheres.

The *jinshi* study in ancient art objects can provide evidence of Classics, history, and the origin and development of Chinese script system. From being a sideline to a form of textual evidential learning in the 17th century, through appreciation of formal beauty and aesthetics in materiality in the 19th century, to authenticating history through archaeology discovery, and to the political use of *jinshi* to revive Chinese culture and restore a nation at the turn of 20th century, the homage to tradition reveals facets of its time and context, its view on the history of objects and how objects represented history. Pivotal in all of this were the intellectuals and artists who witnessed the collapse of the Qing and the unstable state power of the Republican era, and whose advocacy of 'traditional' culture seemed antithetical to European-inspired modernist movements.

By adopting the advanced collotype and half-tone technology for printing, Huang Binhong and other art publishers strived to make their reproductions equivalent to their originals.⁶⁸ He wrote about the need for a reproduction technology that matches *jinshi* rubbings, not short-lived materials such as Ming wood blocks or late Qing lithography, as a means of transmitting pictures, and comments on the success of the *Guocui xuebao* in this regard. Other aforementioned societies all aimed to promote *jinshi* study through publications, yet their challenges lay in the effect of reproduction in printed two-dimensional materials. The task of reproducing the versatile range of materials and formats in Chinese art in early 20th-century was not simply a quest for true-to-life representation of the objects, but one that also sought to ensure that the authority of artistic tradition. Through replicating processes, 'the art of 'tradition' could remain forever ancient and forever new'⁶⁹. A transformation was produced in the subject when one assimilated the image; there were two stages to the process of identity creation through identification: first, the assimilation of the image, and the second, its transformation. The concept allows for the initial, externalised and conscious discovery of models, in this case, the calligraphic form, or the schematic formation of *jinshi* painting; followed by as a secondary result, an internalised and subconscious transformation of personal identity. The choice of the archaic model thus became a form of rebellion. A return

⁶⁸ Examples can be found on *Guocui xuebao* 國粹學報, vol. 29, 1/20/GX33; reprinted in Taipei, 5 : 3763-68; *Shenzhou daguan* 神州大觀, no. 8, 1913, 16. Discussion on printing technology used in *Guocui xuebao*, see Yu-Jen Liu, 'Publishing Chinese Art: Issues of Cultural Reproduction, 1905-1918,' PhD diss., Oxford University, 2010.

⁶⁹ Wen C. Fong, 'Why Chinese Painting is History', *The Art Bulletin* 85, 2003: 2, 262.

to the antique provided a national internalised source of refuge in a heritage that the invading forces could not share.

Paying homage to tradition was a way to revive and renew art throughout the development of Chinese art. This study warns against overgeneralising *jinshixue* as a by-product of regime change when some Republican *jinshi* societies were made up of people of different backgrounds and beliefs. The political use of *jinshi* reinforced the popular appeal of art at the turn of 20th century and ultimately defined the essence of its modernity.

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